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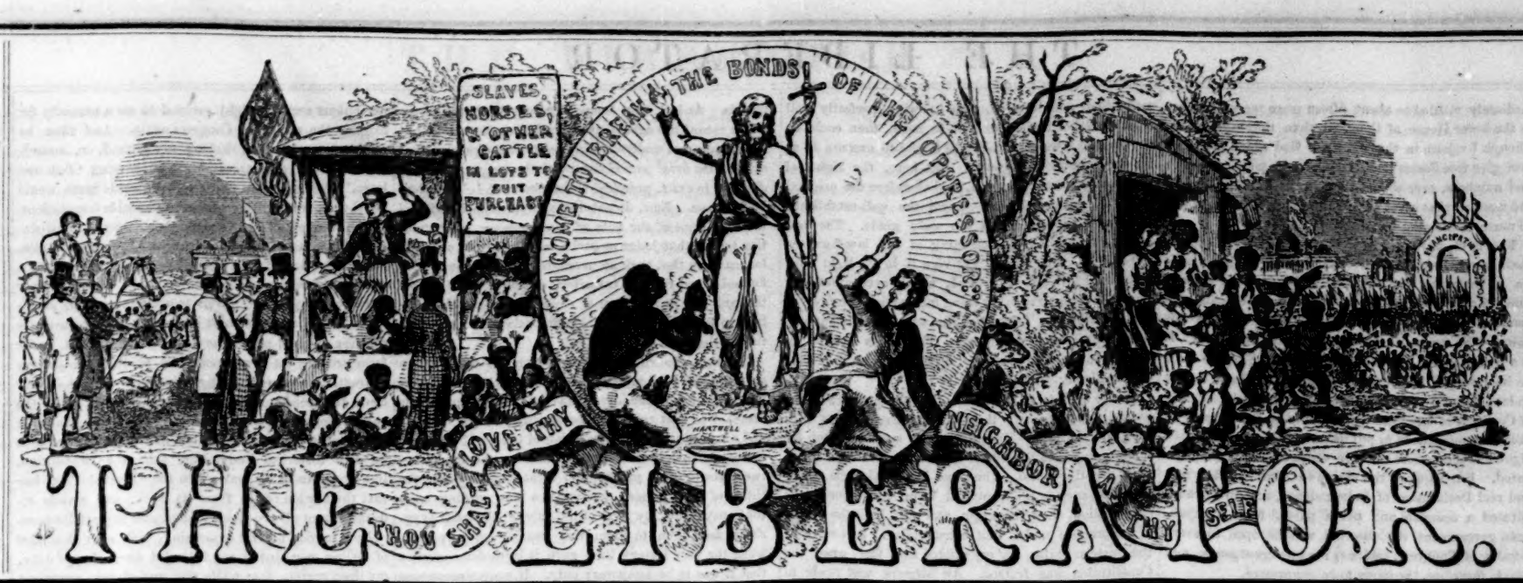
☞ In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.


SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOVE TO SUIT PURCHASERS
COME FORTH & FREE! THE BONDS! OF THE OPPRESSED!
THOU SHALT LOVE THY
NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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THE LIBERATOR.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

STENOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. PRESIDENT:

The Resolutions which I hold in my hand follow, very appropriately, the speech we have just listened to from our friend Mr. FOSTER, (DANIEL,) and will be found to reciprocate that generous and magnanimous spirit which he has inculcated and exemplified:—

1. Resolved, That inasmuch as the condition of membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society is, simply, the recognition of the self-evident truth, that no man can hold property in man, that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master; as that Society neither disciplines nor excommunicates any member on any charge of acting inconsistently with his anti-slavery profession; as its platform is as open to its opponents as to its friends, and free to all; and as the great instrumentality for the peaceful abolition of slavery is the utterance and application of the truth to the consciences and hearts of the people; it follows, that, so long as the Society is true to its fundamental principle, it furnishes common ground for all those who claim to be anxious for the overthrow of the slave system, and occasion from it is an indication of a factious spirit, or of unconscious unwillingness or inability to meet the responsibilities of the cause and the duties of the hour.

2. Resolved, That no man, who consents to stand on the anti-slavery platform, or standing where he may,—as a man who professes to be the friend and advocate of the slave, especially if he occupy a high, responsible station,—has a right to claim exemption from anti-slavery criticism, or to construe it into a personal affront, or to plead his unquestionable and unquestioned anti-slavery acts as entitling him to go unrebuked in cases where he is regarded as found wanting.

3. Resolved, That it is not only the right but the duty of the professed friends of the slave to be watchful and jealous, lest there be any compromise of his rights, and to admonish each other whenever or wherever there seems to be a dereliction from the strict line of anti-slavery principle; and whoever takes offence at this, or withdraws himself from our platform in consequence thereof, shows himself to be consciously in the wrong, and unable to vindicate his position.

Sir, for what are we assembled at this Anniversary? It is to bear anew our testimony against chattel slavery in our land. That sin is so palpable, that crime is so enormous, that no man can honestly doubt in regard to its real nature; for God never yet made a human being who felt in his soul that he ought to be a slave; and, therefore, the universal heart of our common humanity, in all ages, in all climes, has rejected the idea that man can be made the property of man.

Well, then, we are all opposed to slavery—so we say; we all desire its abolition—such is our profession; but how shall we proceed to effect its overthrow? What shall be the mode by which we shall coöperate in order to accomplish this great and sublime object? Or is there no common bond of union, by which we can rally together on the side of liberty? Why, Sir, slaveholders, divided as they are by sectarian and party ties,—divided, in these particulars, just as we are at the North,—are not divided on the subject of slavery. They readily combine their means and influences for its preservation and perpetuity, making every other consideration subordinate. Now, is it not possible for the true friends of freedom to be as united in its defence and extension, though differing in their religious and political opinions? I affirm that we can unite; that we ought to unite; nay, that the true in spirit *are* united, all over this country.

But it is desirable to organize. It is better to work together than to work singly; for by concentrating our forces, we can operate all the more powerfully upon public opinion. But how shall we organize? What should be the platform laid down, on which to invite every body to stand?

In the first place, it ought not to be a religious organization, technically speaking—Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other; for that would be exclusive and sectarian. It would leave a vast multitude of the friends of freedom outside of it, for various reasons; and therefore you would have loss of strength, and an unwise division of forces.

In the second place, it must not be a political organization; for as only a small portion of the people are permitted to vote in this government—as one half of the population, on account of their sex, are politically disfranchised—as many persons are conscientiously opposed to upholding a government of violence and blood—as many others are precluded from the ballot-box by their views of the pro-slavery compromises in the Constitution—a mere political organization must necessarily be exclusive, and therefore contracted in its sphere of activity and influence.

Sir, we want something better than either the one or the other—something more catholic, more philosophical, more comprehensive. Can we get it? What ought to be its leading characteristic? What should be the condition and test of membership? I add—

In the third place, the organization must not exclude women either from membership or from active participation in its affairs; because women abhor, and have reason to abhor, slavery as intensely as men; and because as many women are clanking their chains, and crying for relief, as men. Every member must be permitted to 'plead the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction,' on his or her own responsibility, as a sense of duty may determine.

Lastly, the object of the organization must be moral agitation—the promulgation of the truth, and its application to the consciences of a people who are 'laden with iniquity,' and 'whose hands are full of blood.' It is a moral regeneration which is to be effected, as much now as in apostolic times, and by the same instrumentality—the foolishness of preaching.

It is evident that such an organization must be based upon a self-evident truth, and animated by a vital principle, appealing alike to the understanding and conscience of every human being, without regard to religious or political opinions. That truth is, that slaveholding is, under all circumstances, a sin against God; and, therefore, that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master. What is self-evident is all-embracing, and may be held in common by men and women; by Christians and Infidels; by those who belong to religious bodies, and by those who do not; by those who exercise the elective franchise, and by those who are disfranchised for conscience sake. We can all give our hearty endorsement to the principle,—requiring nothing beyond this, but that each one shall apply and carry it out, with conscientious fidelity, at whatever cost, and wherever it may lead, according to the light that is in him.

Well, what next? The platform of the organization must be free to all, and speech upon it left untrammelled. There must be a willingness to hear not only those who are friendly to its object, but also those who are hostile to it; for the truth has nothing to fear in an open encounter with error, and ever courts inquiry and examination—ever coming out the better and stronger for it.

Now, sir, this is the spirit, the freedom, the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society—nothing more, nothing less. It is willing to hear, at its own pecuniary expense, in its own meetings, whatever may be said against its principles or measures, in whatever temper or language. If it has any favors to grant, they are granted especially to those who are disposed to assail it—giving them not only an equal chance, but more than justice requires on the score of time. If ever the time shall come when this lofty trait in its character shall be blotted out, then you may write 'ICHABOD' upon its walls, and proclaim its downfall.

Sir, we resort to no disciplinary measures. We put forth no bulls of excommunication. We neither exclude nor suspend any member, on any ground whatever. Every one is as free to go as he is free to come, incurring no censure for his withdrawal. We are agreed simply as to the abstract principle; we are agreed, also, that it is the duty of each and all to adhere to it, as its legitimate application may be perceived, 'remembering them that are in bonds as bound with them.' Whenever any thing is found hostile to its progress, then whoever makes the discovery is bound to cry out against the obstacle, and attempt its removal. If, in the course of the conflict, he shall find himself called upon to cut off his right hand or pluck out his right eye, there must be no hesitancy—the hand must come off, the eye must come out.

Sir, we are sometimes accused of being narrow and exclusive in our organization—of imposing tests and requiring conditions, which interfere with individual conviction and personal freedom. No accusation can be more unjust, no opinion more erroneous. Do we say that the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society must all be agreed in proclaiming the Constitution of the United States to be 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell'? Do we say that none shall be members who vote for such men as Franklin Pierce or Winfield Scott? Do we say that they shall be excommunicated if they remain with the Whig, or Democratic, or Free Soil party—or with a pro-slavery church or denomination, or support a pro-slavery clergy? We say no such thing; we make no such requirement; we let every man stand accountable to his God.

But there is one thing we do, and mean to persist in doing: we keep our platform open to all, and free to all, without respect of persons. We utter our convictions fearlessly and independently as to who and what is pro-slavery, and allow nothing in Church or State to pass unchallenged respecting its position to the anti-slavery cause; we mean to criticise, reprove and warn, and are ready to be criticised, reproved and warned in return.

Of course, the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be effective, must cherish and promulgate definite opinions—the collective opinions of its members, as expressed by a majority on any given point, for the time being. It may sometimes err in judgment; it may not always come to a right decision; still, as it ever holds itself open to reproof and conviction, as it gives the minority ever desirable opportunity to expose its fallacies or errors, this affords no good reason for refusing to coöperate with it. All that can be done, among fallible human beings, under the circumstances, to arrive at a true result, is assuredly done; and where this spirit prevails, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, rely upon it, that result will be satisfactory. Welcoming the light from whatever quarter it may shine, how is it possible for the Society to evince a stronger conviction of the rectitude of its course,—or, if in error, a more manly desire to be set right,—or a more unselfish consecration to the cause of the enslaved in our land?

No step has the American Anti-Slavery Society ever taken backwards. Not that it is conceited, dogmatical, unwilling to yield when in error; but because there has been no occasion for retracting or going back. We have abandoned many of our steps, but it is the abandonment of an onward march to grapple all the more vigorously with the enemy. We do not stand precisely where we did twenty years ago, or even ten years ago; we are all the while making new issues and fresh advances; and all this is essential to the abolition of slavery.

Now, then, if we do not dictate to any man to what party he shall belong, to what creed he shall subscribe, to what church he shall give in his adhesion or from which he must withdraw, or what he shall think or say of the Constitution or government of the country—if we allow him free speech, and he professes to agree with us in principle, and in the duty of adhering to it—what excuse has he for absenting himself from this platform? How can he justify himself in lifting his heel against us? Why should he run away? Here is the place to defend himself. What if the Society deem him to be unsound in some of his views, or pro-slavery in some of his relations to Church or State? *He* believes his position to be a tenable one. Then he will be serene and unmoved, instead of getting angry and furious. Instead of impeaching the motives or spirit of the Society, he will say, 'You give me all I ask—all that any man, who has a soul, can desire—the opportunity to state my convictions freely, and to defend my conduct, and that is enough! Believing that I am right, I have full faith that, ultimately, I shall have the satisfaction of seeing the Society espouse my side of the question.'

And yet, Mr. President, what secessions have taken place from our ranks, from time to time! All the way through, and following along the track of our march, are to be found the carcases of multitudes who have perished by the way. They run well for a time, and then they fell to the earth; or, growing hateful and personal in their spirit, they have become embittered against the Society, and sought to destroy it; evidently far more anxious to cripple the efforts and blacken the character of the uncompromising abolitionists, than to bring slavery into disrepute.

What is it that we exact? Not conformity as to the *application* of the principle, in order to membership in our Society, but only as to the *principle itself*—an endorsement of its soundness. We make due allowance for the fact, that mankind make progress, if sometimes rapidly, more commonly slowly. We know, in the nature of the case, that all men do not leap to the same conclusion, logically or by intuition, at the same moment. We know that, among those who are equally honest, there may be hesitancy on the part of some, and doubt on the part of others, as to where the principle fairly applies. We admit that there will be cases where men the most clear-sighted may, for a time, be somewhat troubled to decide whether this or that step is really a compromise of principle. But then, sir, all these things must be tolerated, if we would work together for the overthrow of slavery. Ultimately, we may all see eye to eye.

Sir, if a member of our organization can belong to the Whig or Democratic party, and feel that he occupies a true anti-slavery position in so doing, let him remain with the party. To his own conscience let him be true. To his own master he must stand or fall. What we shall do is, when he comes upon our platform, to endeavor to show that his position is inconsistent with the principle he has accepted, and is practically pro-slavery. As Lot was commanded to flee out of Sodom, that he might not be destroyed with its inhabitants; as God says to his people in Babylon, 'Come out of her, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues;' so anti-slavery demands the abandonment of every pro-slavery sect and party. Still, if any one does not feel called upon to leave his party, or church, or the government, he is at liberty to remain, and he will manifest his sincerity by exhibiting a manly and catholic spirit, and a readiness to be examined as to his conduct.

Now, Sir, can you conceive of any thing more charitable than this—more magnanimous than this—more sublimely courageous than this—a higher evidence of a desire to be in the right, and a wish never to be in the wrong? Where is there such liberty conceded on any other platform under the whole heavens? What other enterprise—except the little, despised Non-Resistance enterprise—has ever been so constituted, or as indulgent on the score of freedom of speech to all? The Free Soil platform is not free; the Free Soil meeting is not free—(I say it not invidiously, of course; I only deal with the fact.) It is exclusively for Free Soilers; it does not say, 'We welcome every man to this platform, to show us wherein we are in the wrong.' No; what is the reason? I ask again—What is the reason? I have my own opinion about it—what do you think?

'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.'

There are those in our ranks who deem the position of the Free Soil party not the highest and best for the cause of the slave. *They* might come on to the platform—and if it were a free one, they certainly would come—and there would be a searching examination. Is it to prevent such examination that their meetings are not free? Why, sir, if at any of their gatherings they can get a Whig, or a Hunker Democrat, to undertake the defence of his party, or to make an assault upon theirs, there is great rejoicing, and they are quite ready to shout, 'To the platform—to the platform! Hear him—hear him!' Why is this? Because, as against the Hunker Whig or the Hunker Democrat, the Free Soilers know that they occupy the vantage ground, and can cover him with confusion of face. But with regard to the radical, uncompromising abolitionists, their presence is not welcomed, and the platform is not made free.

WM. A. WHITE, of Watertown—Does Mr. GARRISON mean this Convention to understand that the meetings of the Free Soilers are not open to all who claim to be the friends of the slave, or whether they do or not?

MR. GARRISON—I will answer that question by asking another—which is the Yankee method, you know. Does our friend WHITE mean to say that the Free Soil meetings *are* thus free?

MR. WHITE—I do; and I hereby invite Mr. GARRISON to attend the next Free Soil Convention, and make a speech. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. GARRISON—Very good! But is our friend authorized, in behalf of the party, to make the invitation?

MR. WHITE—No, sir; I make it on my individual responsibility.

MR. GARRISON—I doubt if such a proposition would receive the sanction of the party, as such. At any rate, it has never yet been declared to the world. But I am not the man to quarrel with that spirit, but will ever give it the right hand of fellowship.

Mr. President, adopting the fundamental principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society, what have we done with it in our organization? In a faithful application of it to men and measures—to the religious and political institutions of the land—to constitutions and laws—we have made many discoveries—discoveries that have filled us sometimes with amazement, sometimes with deep regret, sometimes with heartfelt anguish; because we started, at the outset, mixed up with the old parties and with the religious sects, ardent in our attachment and earnest in our support of them. We did not know where we were going; we could not tell what was before us; for who foresaw, when he gave in his adhesion to the cause of the oppressed, that he would be called upon to give up his party, his church, his minister—to lose his reputation and jeopard his worldly interest—to the extent he has been required to do? But we took the pledge of fidelity to the slave. We declared his cause to be good and true—yes, divine; and hence, whatever obstructed its triumph, must be from the adversary, and not from God. At what hazard and cost all this has been done, let posterity decide.

On many points, slowly but surely, we have arrived at great unanimity of sentiment. We are generally agreed in the opinion, that the Whig party of the country is foully pro-slavery, and therefore ought to be abandoned. We are equally convinced that the Democratic party is utterly subservient to the Slave Power, and thoroughly polluted, from which it is the duty of every pure-minded man and every true Democrat to withdraw. We also affirm that a Church, claiming to be the Church of Christ, and yet having no bowels of mercy for the oppressed, nay, receiving slaveholders and slave-breeders to its communion table, is a Church with which no Christian abolitionist ought to be connected; and that, if there be one thus associated with it, he is bound, by his fidelity to God and the slave, to withdraw from it, and register his testimony against it as an anti-Christian body.

To such conclusions, after careful examination and mature consideration, we have come, with but few dissenting voices in our ranks, but not without great hesitancy and reluctancy on the part of some, for a time. All did not see the duty at the same moment; at first, perhaps only a solitary member saw the guilt of the relation, raised the warning cry, and called for consistent action. Then another and another apprehended it clearly, and the discussion went on, until nearly the whole body became satisfied as to its reality, and pronounced sentence of condemnation accordingly.

We come now to the question of withdrawal from the government, in consequence of the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution. On this point, while the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society are generally agreed, the professed friends of the slave, acting in other relations, are very much divided. They advocate various and discordant notions about the Constitution. Some say they hold it to be thoroughly and intentionally anti-slavery, and so they can vote and hold office under it without any compromise of principle; others acknowledge its pro-slavery features, but argue that as it provides for its own amendment, the ballot may be innocently thrown with that object in view; while others think that, if nothing more can be accomplished by the elective franchise than the election of men to Congress who will exert themselves to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and to prevent the further extension of slavery, it justifies political action. Here is a wide difference of opinion; but what then? What if we differ *ad infinitum* as to the application of the principle by which we profess to be governed? I want to know who the man is who is going to run away from the anti-slavery platform on that account; and if he runs, I want to know what is the matter with him. He says that his own position is sound and practical; that his conscience is satisfied; that his judgment is confirmed, and he has not a doubt troubling his mind. What cause has such a man to run from any body? Is not he who is in the right the 'one man who shall chase a thousand,' and one of the 'two who shall put ten thousand to flight'? But if he be not in the right, even then he will manifest no disposition to flee, if he sincerely believes he is right, or desires to be so, if in error. The language of his heart will be, 'Search me as with a candle, and see if there be any thing wrong in me.' Being fallible, he may honestly mistake his way or misapprehend his duty, but he is not the man to keep from a free arena because somebody will impeach his judgment or censure his conduct—far otherwise! Who that is satisfied that he ought to remain connected with the Whig or Democratic party, pro-slavery though it be,—with the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other Church, pro-slavery though it be,—who, I say, that believes it his duty to do this, *as a friend of the slave*, has any just cause to complain of the liberty exercised on this platform, or to stand aloof from our meeting? Hence, the resolutions I have submitted, Mr. President, seem to me to warrant the conclusion, that he who refuses to take his lot with us, walks no more with us, and seeks to excite popular odium against us, gives conclusive evidence that he knows 'there is something rotten in the state of Denmark,' and that that state is inside of himself. (Laughter and cheers.) He furnishes ample proof of the fact, that he is not able to endure free discussion, and consequently 'flees when no man pursueth.'

I told you that the American Anti-Slavery Society excommunicates nobody, disciplines nobody; but it does far better than that. It is not without a winnowing machine, which separates the tares from the wheat with wonderful discrimination. It has an instrument by which it detects the false, unmasks the hypocritical, exposes the compromising, almost as by an infallible power. It is FREE, UNTRAMMELLED SPEECH, on a FREE, UNTRAMMELLED PLATFORM! Whoever cannot stand the trial is either a coward or a consciously corrupt man. (Loud cheers.)

But the inquiry is raised, 'Why criticise and arraign such men as Charles Sumner, Horace Mann and John P. Hale?' Why not criticise and arraign them, if they are at any time found wanting? Who are they, to claim exemption from the strictest scrutiny? Are they infallible? Are they demi-gods? If they stumble in the dark, shall we raise no warning voice, acting as they do the part of political leaders? Not criticise them!—let them go, forsooth, because they make good anti-slavery speeches now and then—help the fugitive slave now and then—and manfully resist the usurpations of the Slave Power! Why, sir, do we not gratefully acknowledge all that they do for the slave, and give them full credit for it? The anti-slavery speeches of Mann, of Sumner, of Hale, of Giddings, I have always gladly printed in the columns of THE LIBERATOR—(loud applause)—and I think I have not been chary in my tribute to those gentlemen for the anti-slavery work that they have done. For one, I must be beside myself if I can quarrel with them for being faithful to our cause. But, sir, when, in my judgment, they fail to carry out the principle, or stand in a pro-slavery relation, what shall I do, as an honest man—as their friend, and as the advocate of the slave? Shall I be dumb? Shall I say, 'No matter—they mean well; they have said and done many very good things; let them run'? Why, nobody should let them run. I hold the slaveholder to the strictest account; shall I not hold every other man? To such an account God will hold us all.

Do you recollect the case of the young man in the Gospel—the *good* young man—who had lived so exemplary a life, who came to Jesus, saying, 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good, but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honor thy father and mother. And he answered and said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from my youth. Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, take up the cross, and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great possessions.' So in regard to our Free Soil friends. Have they not made good anti-slavery speeches?—what lack they yet? Have they not contributed to the funds of the anti-slavery cause?—what lack they yet? Have they not assisted fugitive slaves to escape?—what lack they yet? One thing; and that is, they are in a political union with bloody-minded oppressors, and they ought to come out and separate themselves for ever from it. (Loud applause, and a few hisses.)

Sir, we are bound to watch over each other; to admonish each other in love, and with all fidelity. And what if a man does not admonish me in love—does that justify me in getting angry? What if, on this platform, I am unjustly censured? Shall I leave it in a passion? No, sir. It is for me to bear with him; to bear with every body; to let patience have its perfect work; and to be satisfied with the liberty granted to me to show that my accuser is in the wrong—if I am able.

Such is the American Anti-Slavery Society. Honest Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers, you can be members of it. Honest Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Catholics, why stand aloof from it? You have equal rights here—free speech here—and the object is worthy your united support—freedom for all, and chains for none! The ground occupied by the Society is catholic, broad, comprehensive; yet stringent in that kind of criticism to which I have alluded, namely, free speech and free investigation. This is the only vital organization to overturn slavery. The political one is narrow, and its action is spasmodic and limited. A sectarian organization does not meet the wants of the great heart of our common humanity. I glory in the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the spirit which animates it, in the noble and unsurpassed example it is giving to the world of faith in the truth, in its willingness to be searched, in its determination to make the liberation of the slave paramount to all other considerations.

One word further. We do not come together to endorse each other's views on politics or religion, or even the anti-slavery soundness of any member of the organization. We acknowledge simply an abstract principle, adverse to the institution of slavery, and agree that we will be true to it, as light is given us. That is all. As to the hue and cry on this side of the Atlantic, and in England, that the American Anti-Slavery Society is a no-Bible, no-Sabbath, no-Government Society, etc. etc., it has never come from a heart beating in deep sympathy for the perishing slave. It is both a sectarian and a pro-slavery device. As a Society, we debate no other question, decide no other question, than that pertaining to slavery. As for the holiness of the Sabbath, or the inspiration of the Bible, or the rightfulness of government, we never have assumed to settle any of these things. In discussing the subject of slavery, it is to be expected that every man will speak in his own dialect, and after his own method of thinking; and illustrate his ideas in his own way. He is entitled to do this, and no one has a right to complain. The Calvinist who occupies this platform will talk of slaveholders going down to a never-ending hell, if they do not repent; and no Universalist has a right to take offence, and say—'I do not believe that doctrine, and it shall not be uttered here—it is extraneous.' No, it is not. It is proper for the Calvinist to assert it, because, with his moral training, with his conviction of the sin of slavery, it is the natural expression of his idea. So the Universalist, standing on this platform, may affirm that he believes in the final restoration of all to God—even slaveholders not excepted—if he chooses to do so, in illustration of an argument against slavery; and the Calvinist has no right to take offence, and say, 'I will not hear such a declaration, nor be connected in any association with such men.' So if a word is incidentally uttered here in regard to the Bible, or the Sabbath, or any other subject, that is deemed heretical, remember, it is the speaker who is to be held responsible, not the organization; nor is he to be blamed, if he evidently means to give no offence. When the organization shall endorse any heresy, shall bring in any extraneous question, and attempt to settle it, forgetting the trial is either a coward or a consciously corrupt man. (Loud cheers.)

SPEECH OF LUCY STONE.

MR. CHAIRMAN:

If I were to obey my own feelings, this evening, I surely should not speak a word. I would far rather, when on this platform, listen than speak. But yet, if, by any word I shall say, the day of deliverance for the slave shall come by one moment sooner, I am willing to offer that word—glad to offer it, too.

I listened to-day, as I always listen, with great interest, to the discussion in regard to the character of the Constitution of the United States, and the support given to the system of slavery in that direction; I have listened to the charges that are made against the Church—of her recreancy to truth and duty—I know they are all true; but yet, whenever I listen to a discussion on these topics, there always comes to me the thought, that, if the government and the Constitution remain just as they are,—if the Church remains with the same creed that it has to-day, slavery would be in the land, not for these reasons,—not because we have such a government, not because the churches have such creeds,—but it would be in the country because we are not ourselves a free people. I mean, that we who are here in Boston, here in New England, and everywhere North of Mason and Dixon's line, are ourselves so much enslaved, that, be the civil institutions of the country what they may, the fault lies more in ourselves than in them. The slave may clank his chains all over the length and breadth of the land:—he who can tell the slave's sad story best may stand to tell it in every street, in every dwelling, and by every highway, and though it may go into the ear of the people, and perhaps reach its heart, yet, after all, he who tells the slave's story, tells it in the ears of those who are themselves in bonds; and though the eye of the listener may look down below him to the slave still lower than himself—bound, bruised and beaten—he yet cannot go to help him, because he is not himself in freedom. Men and women creep cowardly over God's footstool, and by their very cowardice, they allow the system of slaveholding to run riot over the land.

I mean what I say. The slave is held in his bonds because there is not, in the souls of men and women, a great courage, which dares abide by the truth. When we would settle the question of right or wrong, we always stop to ask—'But what will people say?' 'Does Squire Smith agree with that?—or does Mrs. Jones agree with that?'—and then, having ascertained the opinion of Squire Smith and Mrs. Jones, the question is settled. It is not,—'It is right; and because it is right, I will do it, no matter who approves or who frowns'; but, 'What will people say?'—and if the 'say' of the people is against the conviction of right, then the mass of the people smother their convictions, and go with the multitude to do evil, no matter how far the multitude may go in the way of the wrong.

I say, there are few—O, very few!—who dare do what is unpopular, no matter how holy it is. To illustrate what I mean: I went, a short time ago, to lecture in a town in this State, where the kind of anti-slavery represented on this platform is so odious, that, though there are meeting-houses, and halls, and school-houses in the place—all unoccupied on the week day, and some of them unoccupied on the Sabbath, too—no hall, no meeting-house, no school-house could be obtained for our meeting. So exceedingly odious is this kind of anti-slavery there, that those who are its friends could all be counted on the fingers of a single hand. But we found a little hillock, beautifully overgrown with trees, whose thick covering gave us a shade from the sun above, and there we went and held our meeting. In that town, we found there were many who would have been glad to attend our meeting, if they had dared to do so. One woman,—and I think she was a fair representative of her sex,—said, 'If I were only a mouse in the wall, I would go to their meeting.' She was not afraid of His eye who never slumbers, but she could not bear that her neighbors should know that she went to a meeting that was held in so low esteem. She would have been glad to have heard us, but she was afraid of the laugh of those who did not think it proper to go there. I believe she represents a vast majority of the women of the land. We are not so mindful of the opinion of Him, whose eye, if waking or sleeping, is always upon us,—we are not so mindful of what he thinks, of the cognizance he takes of our actions, as we are of that of our frail fellow-mortal, whose breath is in his nostrils. We are always taking counsel of this man or woman; always inquiring, as of the last importance, what will this one or that one say. And when we know that their opinion is against our sense of right, we bury the truth in our own souls, and cover it up and keep it there, never allowing it to get before the eyes of others; at least, not until it has been so far recognized by them that we can do it without loss of reputation.

I do not want you to understand me as expressing the belief that men have any more bravery than women. I have seen as much cowardice among men as among the other sex. I went, not long ago, to speak in a place where there was a great deal of Orthodoxy, and where, too, there was a religion preached, which, as one of the parishioners told me, was only 'the dried husks of Orthodoxy.' 'We have dealt out to us, from Sunday to Sunday,' said he, 'only the dried husks of Orthodoxy.' Five hundred people gather there, from Sunday to Sunday, hungering and thirsting after the bread and water of life, and they have only these miserable husks. When we went there to hold an anti-slavery meeting, I was stupid enough to suppose that he would attend. But, no; he went where the other swine did eat, and partook of the husks that were there, (laughter and applause,) because he was hoping for place and preferment, which he feared he should fail to obtain, were it known that he had the least shadow of a shade of inclination towards us. I believe he represents the majority of men.

Again: I went, a short time ago, to attend a meeting in a Massachusetts town, in behalf of a cause equally unpopular with this. A certain man there, on being invited to attend the meeting, replied—'No! I will not go to hear a crazy woman; and she must be crazy, or she would not be alluding to such subjects.' Well, a few days after, I went to a city in New York State, to speak on the same subject, and there, strange to say, was this very man before my face, he having paid a quarter of a dollar to hear the speaker at whom he had flung so unmanly a sneer when at home! After the lecture,—which seemed to have been acceptable to the audience,—while the friends were crowding around the lecturer to express their sympathy and pleasure, that same toady came up to the platform, also, to give me his hand. (Laughter and cheers.)

The cowardice that such little incidents shadow are to my mind indicative of what lies at the root. Tell such a man that there are 'Uncle Toms' scattered all over the South-land, tell him of the weight of woe that sweeps in resistless tide over the souls of those three millions of slaves, and you might as well whisper the tale in the 'dull, cold ear of death'; his own hands are bound; he has no courage and no freedom, and before he can come and take hold of 'Uncle Tom's' hand, and raise him up, and give Cassy the word of cheer she needs, he must make for himself a Declaration of Independence; and when he has achieved that, and become a man among men,—when he himself has no shackle on his spirit, and dares to love what is true, and can listen to the word of truth,—then, bending over from his place of power, he can take 'Uncle Tom' by the hand, and recognize him as only 'a little lower than the angels.'

After all, it seems to me that the first thing that is needed for our cause is a great lesson of courage. We want such men and women as will not 'flatter Neptune for his trident, nor Jove for his power to thunder.' We want such men and women, who, if your

'Tempt them with bribes, you tempt in vain;
Try them with fire, you find them true.'

When men and women of this character are more numerous than now, then, and not till then, can the slave leap out of the charnel-house where he now is, and find the recognition of that manhood which God gave him as his birthright. (Cheers.)

It is my present conviction, that were I to go out and speak to the people on this great subject, wherever I went, from town to town, and from house to house, it should be my business to make the people understand that they were cowards; and I would prove it, to every man's face, and to every woman's, also, from the facts that I would learn them in twenty-four hours; and I would entreat them to reverence themselves, and spurn the bonds that are on the spirit of man. It should be my business to search out a manhood that could wear itself like a glorious crown, enabling men and women to give their aid to every cause that needs their aid, not stopping to ask, 'Shall I get to office and power?' but only, 'What is the right?'

We blame the clergy. I have heard, until my ear was pained by listening, the story of their recreancy; and I have blamed them, and I do blame them, and they

deserve to be blamed. But the people, who hold them in their control, are more to blamed than they, for their cowardice. But when a clergyman comes to learn to scorn his place, and his parish, and his salary, choosing rather the want of place, and of parish, and of salary, with the privileges that they give, and keeping only his integrity of purpose and action,—when he comes to know that there is a wealth that thieves cannot steal, —the approval of his own conscience,—and that is more to him than the approval of all those whose breath is in their nostrils,—then he will not stop to ask whether this man, who helps pay his salary, or the other, will be pleased if he opens his lips for the dumb; he will come up here, away from the circles of fashion with which he has been connected, and labor with us for the deliverance of them that are in bonds.

I know it costs something to be free—I have learned it. It costs something to be free, even in the least things. Dare to differ from the fashion and custom and opinion of those about you, and just so surely are you made to smart—from those, too, who ought to be larger than to do it. The world may sneer at the nobleness of soul it cannot imitate; friends may rebuke that which they cannot comprehend; and even affection may be blind to the deep mysteries and high and noble purposes of life; but the consciousness of rectitude is its own exceeding great reward. (Loud applause.) The soul, animated with a holy purpose, is able always to trample under its feet all of opprobrium or of ridicule that malice or meanness can throw in its way. The soul that has a holy purpose, strengthened by that purpose, is able to pass by these petty meannesses, only with a feeling of pity that circumstances have so belittled human beings every where, that they are not capable of receiving and using the reward which comes from freedom of mind and body.

I say again, it costs something to be free; but then, in freedom itself there is that richness, that treasure of wealth, which will amply repay all that can be lost otherwise. Take a true position, and by your earnest and faithful life, be understood as having taken it for conscience and the truth's sake, and the grand of soul, the true and noble-hearted, will rally to your side, and round your brow,

> 'Through rifted clouds and parted,
> Stream down the smile of God;'

and in that smile, and with it, it does not matter who of flesh may frown. (Loud cheers.)

If I were asked what should be the first help to emancipate the slave, and the second, and the third, I should say to the first, Courage; and to the second, *Courage;* and Courage to the last! (Applause.) Courage! Gather freedom, each man for himself, each woman for herself, and then use it for the good of all. Spurn the bond of servitude that keeps us now always asking what this great world, with its little fractions of men and women, is going to say, rather than trying to find answers to the great questions of truth and duty!

I am ashamed of a people which stoops to curry favor with a nation like this—a nation which, as Stephen Foster says, 'steals babies and whips women';—asking privileges of baby-stealers, and of those who, if they do not themselves wield the cowskin over their fellows, stand by those who do! Why, if they be mean men who drive their fellow-beings like cattle, and sell them in the shambles, and steal from the mother her baby, how mean must those be who go and cringe to such men, and ask their favor! (Cheers.) I have no word that can speak the contempt I feel for it; and yet, that poor fawning is every where, and men act upon their knowledge of it. That poor miserable man in the Assembly at Albany, who introduced a bill which aimed to make the great State of New York a hunting-ground for the slaveholder, he did that foul, mean deed, because he understood that he was surrounded by cravens and cowards. The deed never would have been done, only so there had been a noble manhood about him; but there was not, and so he was able to offer what he did. Dr. Fuller came to Massachusetts from Baltimore, and boasted that he held his fellow-beings in bondage; and Dr. Sharp invited him to his pulpit here in Boston, and stood there by the side of this man who stole babies and whipped women! He would never have done this shameful thing, had those whom he served, and the community about him, been manly and courageous men.

This cowardice is every where; in Congress, in the pulpit, in the press, in the church,—*every where.* There is no one who does not feel the taint of it, more or less. It would seem that the tales which are told of the wrongs of the slave would startle to life the manhood of the nation; but they do not, and cannot, until we are ourselves freer than we are.

Men! abolitionists! who have gathered here from all parts of New England, carry back to Maine, to the White Hills of New Hampshire, to the Green Mountains of Vermont, to Connecticut, to Rhode Island,—carry in your minds and hold fast in your hearts, and always give to the people, the idea, that among the first things that true love and sympathy for the slave requires, in order to make that sympathy effective, is to obtain for themselves that freedom which shall make them dare to do the deed they know needs to be done for the slave, —to abandon, if need be, the church in which both their father and mother and themselves have grown up,—even though it makes their foes those of their own household, and the men they have been wont to call friends grow cold towards them. What we need is, a heroic faith in justice, benevolence, truth and right, going up over our hills and vallies; and against this, sustained by earnest word and earnest deed, the Slave Power cannot stand. The base are always cowards; and when they find the sturdy stand of an earnest manhood and womanhood arrayed against them, the slaveholders will feel that the day of their triumph is over. But now, they make you hunt down their fugitive slaves, and taunt you with being meaner than those on the plantation. Throw off from your spirit the fetter that makes you stop to ask, 'What will people say?' Do not ask that question, friends. It does not make any difference. Do not ask whether any body is going to laugh at you for being true to yourself. Nobody was ever hurt by being laughed at—if there was, he deserved to be (laughter); but simply ask and strive faithfully to know the right, and then, if the heavens fall, DO IT! (Loud cheers.) Then will the slave come out of his prison-house—and not till then. (Applause.)

THE CONSTITUTION AND SLAVERY—MR. MANN'S POSITION DEFINED.

West Newton, June 11, 1853.

Wm. L. Garrison, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—'What obligations, if any, to uphold slavery, does a fair and statesmanlike construction of our Constitutions, State and National, impose upon the office-holder under them?' I state the question, of course, politically, and not morally; for, wherever we encounter any claim or implication requiring a violation of the law of God, all human laws, mandates, treaties or constitutions, are as flax in the flame. My present stand-point is inside of the Constitutions, as their supporter; not outside, as their destroyer.

Late discussions, on many of the points involved in the above question, have been so demonstrative and exhaustive, that I shall study brevity by merely stating conclusions, rather than to repeat the arguments and reproduce the authorities by which they have been established.

The only objection I am aware of, which is made against the Constitution of Massachusetts, is that office-holding under it involves an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

The first provision in the Constitution of the United States, claimed to have a bearing upon the question of slavery, relates to the basis of representation,—the three-fifths rule, so called.

As this provision has been practically construed, ever since the adoption of the Constitution, it is, as to the slave States, a *rule of disability.* Were all their slaves to be taken and counted, as freemen, as we say they ought to be, the States now holding them would be immediately entitled to about fifteen more representatives in the lower House of Congress than they now claim. Though I rejoice in those laws of God which must forever give free States an ascendancy, in point of wealth and numbers, over slave States, yet I should rejoice all the more at that extension of freedom which would add so much to the relative power of the South.

The next provision is that which says, 'Congress shall have power—to provide for calling forth the militia to suppress insurrections.' It has been claimed that, in case of a servile insurrection, the oath of a member of Congress would oblige him to exercise this power. No proposition could be more untenable. It is a power given, not a duty enjoined. Suppose such an insurrection to have spread into a free State, and to endanger the lives of its inhabitants, it may be the duty of Congress to suppress it, as it may be the duty of an executive magistrate to put down a mob, no matter how righteous the remote cause in which it may have originated. But suppose the slaves to have issued a new and real Declaration of Independence, and to have instituted a complete and not a partial form of republican government, the question will be open to every member of Congress, *which is the insurgent party, and which, therefore, the party to be suppressed.*

But the provision relating to fugitives from service or labor is supposed to present what Lord Bacon called the *experimentum crucis,*—the test.

Now, on the face of this provision, there is not the slightest hint or intimation that any legislation, either by Congress or by the States, was expected or required. In the words, 'law or regulation,' it refers to legislation; not, however, to enjoin, but to interdict. The idea of legislation, therefore, was present to the minds of the framers, and yet they made no injunction on State or nation to act upon it. All they demanded was that, for a certain purpose, it should not be acted upon.

All this has been so many times demonstrated, that every student of anti-slavery logic and literature has the arguments and the illustrations by heart.

What, then, was the redress of a party from whom a 'person held to service or labor' had escaped? Manifestly, the courts, and the courts alone. The cardinal words in the clause are words belonging to the courts, to judicial proceedings. 'Held,' '*under* the laws,' 'discharged,' 'delivered up,' 'claim,' 'party,' 'due,' —these are not words that savor of law-making, but of law-expounding; not of concurrent acts of Senate and House, prescribing a general rule of conduct; but of the judicial acts of a legal tribunal adjudicating on 'parties' in reference to a specific 'claim.' In the case of a claim for an escaping servant, the courts must act *in rem,* that is, upon the subject-matter in litigation; and, from time immemorial, whenever the courts act *in rem,* as in the case of replevin, they order the thing in dispute to be 'delivered up' to the prevailing party. This is the common function of courts; it is *not* of legislatures.

But, in the case of a 'claim' by a 'party' before a court, for a *fugitive from service,* what would be the question? Clearly, under these words in the Constitution, the main question would be, whether the person claimed was 'held' to service or labor, under any State laws; or,—which is the exact correlative of this,—whether such service or labor was 'due' from the person claimed.

Now, shall we look at the language of a law, in order to ascertain its meaning? If so, then this clause in the Constitution, so far from including slaves, by force of its terms, expressly excludes them. I am endeavoring now to ascertain the meaning of the provision from its language, and not from history or any contemporaneous events, and I should like to have a pro-slavery champion tell me why, if the framers of the Constitution meant slaves, they didn't say so? He may answer me which-ever way he will; before I get through, it will be seen that I shall confute him on his own answer. Instead of saying slaves, the Constitution uses words which, in their natural signification, exclude the idea of a slave. Listen: 'Person *held* to service,' 'shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be *due.*' Now, the terms 'held' and 'due' are technical law terms, perhaps as old as the common law itself. At any rate, for hundreds of years, they have been invested with a specific legal meaning, and for millions of times, they have been used for a specific legal purpose. In law books and in judicial proceedings, they have been used in their special technical sense, and one might as well try to conjure up a doubt about the meaning of the word 'ten,' or the word 'radius,' or the word 'azote,' as about them. A debtor is *held* to bail; that is, he has come under a civil obligation to appear, &c. An obligor is *held* and firmly bound; that is, he has covenanted, by an instrument under seal, to pay something or do something. The jury finds that such a sum is *due* from the defendant to the plaintiff. The court decides that the services of an indented apprentice are *due* to the master, &c. &c. But the very definition of a slave is, that he is incapable of contracting with any mortal whomsoever, not even with a woman to make her his wife, nor with a physician to save him from death. He can no more make a promise, than a stone or a log. He cannot *owe.* Men bind themselves *by consent, by an exercise of the will.* But a slave's will is in his master's bosom. Talk of his making a contract, by virtue of which his services are *due* to another; he has not even the instrument to contract with. To say, then, that a slave is a chattel, and that service is *due* or *owing* from him to his *owner,* is to say that a chattel, which, civilly, is devoid of will, is omnipotent over its own nature, and can be a dead chattel and a live debtor at the same time.

But we have been looking, exclusively, at the *language* of the Constitution. Is there not some principle of interpretation, accompanied also by facts fulfilling the conditions of the principle, which can modify the words in question, and impose upon them a meaning different from their accustomed, plain, English, legal sense?

All will understand that I here refer to the principle of contemporaneous interpretation, or construction by historical facts. Now, I acknowledge the validity of this principle. It seems to me sound, and, therefore, wherever it fairly carries me, I must go. I cannot deny a principle because of its supposed adverse bearing upon the point in issue. If I deny it now, by and by, when I have occasion to use it, my adversary will cite my denial against me. The rule to do as we would be done by belongs to logic as well as to every thing else.

But suppose it could be demonstrated from contemporaneous records, or historical evidence of any kind, that the framers of the Constitution meant to allow the case of fugitive slaves to be included in the second section of the fourth article, the question will still remain, whether they have used language sufficiently plain and comprehensive to effectuate their purpose. If they have not, then their purpose, like that of ten thousand other contracting parties, becomes abortive. As the clause stands, it is unexceptionable. Neither humanity nor the higher law has aught to allege against it. But if an attempt is made to force the idea of slavery into it, by virtue of an outside rule of construction, then another rule of construction, as old, and far more sacred and binding, arises, which explains the explanation and construes the construer. This sacred and authoritative rule is, that, in whatever pertains to human life and liberty, every thing is to be construed most strictly in favor of these natural rights. The law books overflow with precedents on this subject, and they are all on one side. No matter how dire the intent of the legislator was; he may have been a very Herod; he may have intended to murder infants or to enslave a race; still, if words have not been used which command and coerce such a meaning, they are not to be so executed. Had the tyrant legislator meant to kill another by a blow, but had missed his aim, the object of his wrath would not be dead; so if he meant to enact a law which would enslave a race, but failed to use the sufficient words, that race is not enslaved. This is not like the case of a common contract between A and B, (though it is often so argued,) in which, no matter if the parties only say *Fee-faw-fum,* and subscribe their names to it, each knowing perfectly well what the other understands it to mean, then each, by the clearest laws of morality, is bound to execute it as his co-contractor expected. But here, the rights of third persons are concerned, and therefore the original compact, when subjected to all the well-established rules of interpretation, is our only guide. The first rule is, to ascertain the meaning of the law from the words used. The second is to view it in the light shed upon it by history. The third, which overarches both these, is to construe every thing most strictly in favor of life and liberty. I need not cite authorities to support these well-known principles. The books abound in them. In recent discussions, on this subject, they have been made accessible to all.*

But to all this it is replied, that the practice of the government, for more than sixty years, conflicts with such an exposition. True; but the special reason for commencing this practice is as much a matter of history as any thing else. The same historical facts which give relevancy to the argument from contemporaneous construction, show the origin, and must limit the extent of the practice under that construction. In twelve of the thirteen States, slavery existed as a fact, when the Constitution was framed. An attempt was made to give it an express constitutional guaranty. That attempt was resisted and defeated. It was believed, on all hands, that slavery was an institution about to pass away. It was deemed impossible for slavery and republicanism to coëxist. Universal freedom was every where seen to be a logical necessity from the country's antecedents, and a little time only was wanted to work out the problem. This, then, was the dilemma to be met. The fact of partial slavery was to be reconciled with the universal right to freedom. To accomplish this, the expedient was hit upon of adopting a phraseology for the Constitution, under which the slaveholder might claim to continue in the possession of his slaves, *for a time, and until the period should arrive at which, as was then expected, slavery would cease out of the land.* When that expected epoch should come, the Constitution would apply to free men alone, in fact as well as in terms, and it could not be known from perusing the instrument that any but freemen had ever existed under it. It was with this understanding that the Constitution was framed. It was with this understanding that it was adopted. It could not have been framed or adopted on any other.

This view of the subject solves every difficulty, and accounts for every fact belonging to the case. It shows why the two or three States which favored slavery in the Convention, when baffled in their attempt to obtain express guarantees for it, were content to accept an ambiguous phraseology, and to run their chance under it. It shows why the States adverse to slavery assented to provisions whose immediate practical construction would recognize the fact of slavery, without acknowledging its right, but whose intrinsic meaning and force no more embraced slavery than they did the British Press-gang or the French *Lettres de Cachet,* and which, whatever they meant, were understood, on all sides, to be applicable to an institution soon to be abandoned and cast out by all men. And it accounts, as no other hypothesis ever did or can, for that extraordinary series of measures which signalized the action of the government on this subject, during the earlier periods of its history. I mean the two or three instances in which slavery was recognized by legislation,—each perfectly compatible with the idea that its days were numbered,—as contrasted with those repeated acts of sweeping, wholesale legislation, which aimed mortal blows at the very existence of the institution itself. What was the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, compared with one of the first acts of the First Congress, reaffirming the Ordinance of 1787, and the affirmation of that affirmance, when the States formed from that territory were admitted into the Union?—compared again with the repeated acts prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the territories; with provisions for transhipping captured slaves to Africa; with the abolition of the slave trade at the earliest possible hour allowed by the Constitution; with what, for the times, was one of the boldest of measures, the making of the slave trade a felony, punishable with death? &c. &c. The anti-slavery legislation of Congress looked to the circumscription and extinction of slavery; its pro-slavery legislation looked only to incidental matters, and, though immensely important in its effects, yet, at that time, it seemed comparatively unimportant. This was precisely the way in which men would act, who were attempting to reconcile the temporary fact of slavery with the permanent and universal rights of freedom.

Now, let us take the worst view which the subject will bear. Let us suppose that history and contemporaneous events constrain us to admit, (though, in fact, the evidence is not overwhelmingly strong nor altogether consistent,) that the framers of the Constitution and its early administrators did acquiesce, and *did mean to acquiesce,*—I put it in its worst form,—in the pro-slavery construction of the fourth article, it is still clear that such acquiescence was entirely consistent with the expectation and belief that slavery would soon die out, and when the expected time should arrive, the duty of forbearance or acquiescence would be at an end, and the strict language of the Constitution, in its natural and legal sense, should then be the rule of action for all.

Suppose A and B to propose a partnership for ten years. On all the main points of the relation, their interests and wishes coincide; but there is a collateral matter, not only unimportant in proportion to the great motives which prompt the union, but understood to be of a temporary character, in which they clash. This matter both parties have reasons for not spreading upon the face of the contract. Terms are therefore adopted which do not, *eo nomine,* or, in specific phrase, either accept or reject what is desired by the one and denied by the other; and it is understood that a temporary forbearance, or recognition even, is to be allowed. Or suppose two parties to have an amicable litigation in court, and the question between them is, in what terms the decree of the court shall be entered. On all points but one, they are agreed. On this point, a claim is made, by one of the parties, which the other will not admit, and the court itself refuses to enter it upon the record, as being *contra bonos mores,* or against sound morals. At last, as a temporary expedient, the terms of the record are agreed upon, excluding the claim, but with a personal understanding between the parties, that *during the brief period for which the exigency is understood to exist,* practical resistance to the claim shall be forborne. Now, do not these suppositions fulfil all the conditions of the rule of contemporary interpretation? and what judge or jurist, what court or chancellor, can say that such an arrangement, which was only formed to get rid of a transitory difficulty, shall be afterwards, by any change of circumstances, made coëxtensive with the legal and binding relations into which the parties have entered?

If, then, the rule of contemporaneous construction should be allowed to open the Constitution for the purpose of letting in the idea of slavery, all the limitations attached to that rule must necessarily come in with it; and among these is the limitation of time. It would be the most unrighteous of interpretations, even as between the original parties, and without reference to the rights of third persons, to impose a new reading upon the Constitution, by force of the rule of historical exposition, and then to claim that reading as perpetual, when the very history that gave it birth demonstrates that it was to be temporary only. If contemporaneous history is allowed to change the obvious *prima facie* meaning of the instrument, we must have the whole of the contemporaneous history, so as to know *how much*—that is, in this case, *how long*—it is to change it; and, on this point, nothing can be clearer than the proof offorded by that history.

The fact that slavery has not passed away, as was expected, but is to-day two-fold more extended in the territory which it covers, and six-fold more numerous in the victims which it enchains, has not a feather's weight in invalidating this course of reasoning, and the conclusions to which it leads. It is an argument the other way. If a claim is set up to make that enduring which was understood to be transitory, and that national which was understood to be sectional, the reasons are, not so much the weaker, but so much the stronger, for discarding the transient gloss that has been put upon it, and for giving it a practical interpretation in accordance with the great principles of liberty it was designed to secure and uphold.

This argument, it seems to me, becomes irresistible, when we escape from our present environment of facts, and go back and take our stand among the facts of 1787 and '88. Who, at that period, saw the immense expansion in the culture of cotton and the effect it would have upon the interests of men, the diplomacy of courts, and the destiny of nations? Who foresaw the cupidity of Northern cities, which would make them abandon the great principles on which the war of the revolution itself proceeded, for the hope of a cent a yard on calico, and a penny a pound on iron, in a prospective tariff, never to be obtained? Who foresaw that Northern apostates would gamble for the Presidency, and use the bodies and souls of men for their dice? Had a vision of these now present facts been presented to the framers of the Constitution, they would have viewed them as impossible as cannibalism.

For those who admit that slavery was tolerated and acquiesced in, by our government, from the constraints of a momentary necessity, but deny that it was adopted as an enduring part of our system, only one further question remains. What length of acquiescence or toleration should be allowed, in fulfilment of the original understanding? When did, or when will, the time arrive, beyond which all implied or expected obligations in behalf of slavery must cease to exist, even on the principle that it was at first allowed in order to meet a temporary exigency? This question is analogous to that of 'adequate time,' or 'reasonable time,' which is passed upon every day by juries, and decided every day by the courts. Looking at this question from a point of view inside the Constitution, considering the number of slaves in what are now called the slave States, in 1787, their value, and the relation of social and economical dependence borne towards them by their masters, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, considering the Declaration of Independence which the people had just proclaimed to the world as their rule of faith and practice; considering the immortal principles of equity and justice which were embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and the sacrifices which had been made to secure their enjoyment for ages to come;—considering all these things, I say, who can suppose that any man believed, or, at most, that any considerable number of men believed, that the dominion of slavery in this country would not share the fate and follow the fortunes of the dominion of the British Crown, and pass speedily into practical oblivion? They doubtless would suppose that it would last until after the epoch of 1808; because, up to that time, slaves, by the supposition, could be imported. But could any man have supposed that, in a country, at whose birth the song of the angel was, that 'all men were created free and equal;' whose infancy had borne the struggles of maturest manhood; and whose great solemn compact entered into for the guide of its life, through all the coming generations, declares its object to be to 'establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity,'—can any sane man suppose that, in such a country, and by men achieving such deeds, and covenanting before the world for such principles, it was supposed that slavery could survive all justice, welfare, law and religion, for so much as a hundred years? It is impossible. Two generations would be the utmost limit that extravagance could ask for it.

When, then, this rule of contemporaneous construction, with the limitation as to time which its own history carries with it, has had its scope, there remains not a particle of even a political obligation on the government, or on any officer of the government, or on any citizen whose action connects him with the government, to do one further act in behalf of slavery. All are remitted to the plain language of the Constitution, which, as before shown, does not mean slavery, any more than it means the Inquisition or Thuggery.

There is another consideration connected with this subject. For thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution,—that is, up to about the time of the Missouri Compromise,—I recollect no instance in which the South ever made any demonstration of a purpose to regard slavery as a permanent institution of the country, and to shelter and extend it, under the Constitution itself. Then, a new policy was avowed. Slavery was to be extended, not circumscribed. Instead of the supposed privilege of a temporary existence, a charter for a new existence coeval with the Constitution itself was claimed for it. This important fact furnishes to my mind no reason for a more liberal or enlarged construction of the rule of contemporaneous exposition.

Mr. Editor, though my opinions are of no public importance, yet there are one or two reasons why I do not regret this opportunity to state them, somewhat at length. In the fierce contest in which, for some years past, we have been engaged, no occasion has demanded this detailed exposition. In the thick of the fight, we have been obliged to give blows and parry blows, and leave truces and treaties for the morrow. In discussing slavery before the pro-slavery men in Congress, and the more impassive pro-slavery men at the North, we have been acting on the defensive, and against the most outrageous aggressions;—aggressions, even according to their own constitutional theories. But the Free Soilers, so far as I recollect, though they may have often placed themselves upon the platform of their adversary, for the sake of meeting his arguments on his own hypothesis, yet I believe they have never yielded up any of the grounds here marked out and contended for.

Another is, that it gives me an opportunity to vindicate the consistency of my own views, and, as I believe, the consistency of the Free Soil party, generally. If I contended, as I often have done, that our pro-slavery legislation by Congress had no warrant in the Constitution of the United States, then any disingenuous person might charge me with transferring the obligation to the States. And if I maintained that the States, as such, had no duty to perform on this subject, the same unscrupulous accuser might pretend to see a necessity for lodging the power in Congress again. And thus he might charge me with shifting my ground, or, according to the vulgar expression, with playing 'fast and loose,' while the plain truth and the whole truth would be, that he was shifting his unwarrantable imputations.

The view which I have now taken shows the anti-slavery character of the Constitution. It explains, also, how, consistently with this anti-slavery character, a pro-slavery construction was, originally, and to answer a temporary purpose, given to some parts of its provisions. And, what is most important, it demonstrates that the original pro-slavery legislation under it, so far from proving its permanent and abiding pro-slavery character, was exhausting whatever of pro-slavery could be forced upon it, or incorporated into it, by the rule of contemporaneous exposition. When that rule has spent itself by lapse of time, and in accordance with its own historical limitations, then the Constitution, like Christian in his journey to the Celestial City, has cast the burden of sin from its back, and stands redeemed from all pro-slavery attributes and attributions.

Now pardon me for expressing, with no unkindness of feeling, nor hint at any intended dereliction of duty, my deep regret, that while the anti-slavery argument is growing stronger and stronger, by the progress of events, and especially by the evolution of the moral sentiment of the world, a body of men should rise up among us, animated by an unflagging energy and zeal that would do credit to any cause, who coalesce with the extremest champions of slavery, whether North or South, in contending for the most ultra pro-slavery constructions of the Constitution; and who thus furnish 'aid and comfort'—'material aid,' even, to the most fanatical claims of every Southern slaveholder in his crusades against the rights of mankind. As a class, I do not doubt their sincerity, but I lament their disastrous position.

One word more, and I will close: There may be true anti-slavery men, who will not adopt my conclusions, as set forth in this letter; and there may be those, who, while they assent to the principles laid down, may not think that the rule of contemporaneous construction has yet expended its force, and therefore may hold that previous interpretations ought still to be followed, for a generation or more longer. Is there any reason why such men should not hold office, and, of course, vote? As members of Congress or of State Legislatures, I trust I have shown they can have no legitimate connection with slavery in any way; because the Constitution requires no legislation, by State or nation, on the subject. And the chances are indefinitely small, that, in any other office or position, they will be called upon to do any act for the return of a fugitive slave, or in behalf of slavery. Should such an exigency arise, they could resist the demand, and take the consequences, just as, in the capacity of private citizens, they could do the same. So far as pro-slavery implications are concerned, I should not have the slightest objection to take the commission and the oath of a United States Marshal to-day. If called upon, under the law of 1793 or 1850, to arrest an alleged fugitive, I should rejoice that the commission was in my hands, and not in the hands of one who would do so ungodly a deed. The frivolous and light-minded may here say, that, with such an intent, one of the qualifications of the incumbent should be a long purse. But it would be immaterial for such a purpose, whether I were rich or poor. If rich, to what better use could I put my money? If poor, who could doubt my indemnification by an eager public? At any rate, as a last resort, I could surrender my commission. Two officers in the British army did this, on the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, because they would not be guilty of assisting to subjugate the colonies. Granville Sharpe, who then held an office in one of the home departments of government, did the same, and for the same reasons.

In a characteristic note, Mr. Editor, you requested me, in stating my views of the Constitution, to be 'explicit.' I trust you will find that I have been so. At any rate, if any person, for any reason, shall feel an interest in my views on this subject; and, instead of arraigning and denouncing me before the public, if he shall ask, in any civil way, to be informed of them, he may be assured of respectful attention.

Yours, truly, HORACE MANN.

P. S. As to your correspondents and others, who have rushed in with such alacrity to cover the retreat of their friend,—my original assailant,—perhaps I ought to regard the zeal which has so dimmed their vision, as the mere expression of their good will towards him, rather than of ill-will towards me, or the truth; and so to let it pass. 'D. Y.,' the correspondent of the *Anti-Slavery Standard,* intimated a less amiable excuse for himself, when lately, in a moment of self-conscious recognition, he suggested for himself the name of the 'laughing hyena.' And all the people shouted, Amen!

* As Judge Story's version of the Constitution, in the Prigg case, is so often cited, I will give the general principle of interpretation, as *afterwards* laid down by him, on the same subject, in his Commentaries:

'Opposite interpretations,' says he, 'and different explanations of different provisions, may well be presumed to have been presented in different bodies, to remove local objections, or to win local favor. And there can be no certainty, either, that the different State Conventions, in ratifying the Constitution, gave the same uniform interpretation to its language, or that, even in a single State Convention, the same reasoning prevailed with a majority, much less with the whole of the supporters of it. . . . It is not to be presumed that even in the Convention which framed the Constitution, from the causes above mentioned, and other causes, the clauses were always understood in the same sense, or had precisely the same extent of operation. . . . Nothing but the text itself was adopted by the people. . . . Is the sense of the Constitution to be ascertained, not by its own text, but by the "probable meaning" to be gathered by conjectures from scattered documents, from private papers, from the table-talk of some statesmen, or the jealous exaggerations of others? Is the Constitution of the United States to be the only instrument which is not to be interpreted by what is written, but by probable guesses, aside from the text? . . . It is obvious that there can be no security to the people in any Constitution of government, if they are not to judge of it by the fair meaning of the words of the text, but the words are to be bent and broken by the 'probable meaning' of persons whom they never knew, and whose opinions and means of judging may be no better than their own. *The people adopted the Constitution according to the words of the text, in their reasonable interpretation, and not according to the private interpretation of any particular man.*' 1 Story's Comm., 388–392.

There are other parts of the Constitution, about the meaning of which there are proofs of a much greater diversity of opinion than about the clause in question. What would be thought if an attempt were now made to override the obvious import of the Constitution, by such collateral opinions of individual men?

[Correspondence of the National A. S. Standard.]

THE MANN & PHILLIPS CONTROVERSY.

Boston, May 20th, 1853.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention was begun, continued and ended, last week, with entire prosperity from first to last. It has contracted such a habit of being the best of all the Anniversaries, that nobody thinks it necessary to reaffirm the fact. The only mistake in regard to it was that it was limited to two days, instead of spreading itself over three. * * *

The discussions of the first day were, perhaps, not so interesting to the old Anti-Slavery stagers, as they were, doubtless, edifying to recent converts. It was on the responsibilities of voters, and the obligations implied in the act of appointing men to office by one's ballot. It seemed like going back eight or nine years, when this question was thoroughly sifted, and, as we supposed, forever settled. It was the *re-discovery* of the old mare's nest by the Hon. Horace Mann, that resuscitated this obsolete discussion. Is it not funny to see that ingenious gentleman cackling over his newly hatched one chicken, as if it were a phœnix that man never saw before? Why, all his arguments, from taxation and postage-stamps (or postage, rather, for *stamps* were not then invented,) had been urged and re-urged, years agone, in every school district that the Anti-Slavery lecturer ever invaded. There were scores of Daniels who could come up to that judgment, long before Mr. Mann was ever heard of (active as we now know him to have been, on his own authority) as an Abolitionist. He was so absorbed at that time, doubtless, in endeavoring to secure the equal rights of colored children in the Massachusetts schools (as we are bound to believe on the same testimony, however scrupulous he may have been not to let his left hand know what his right hand was about) that he had no time to notice what such insignificant person as the Abolitionists were doing. There was no place so destitute but that some worthy, though generally very feeble, brother would arise with an air of triumph which we have not seen since, until Mr. Mann's ovation over us, and say, 'Don't you pay postage and buy dutiable goods?' 'Yes, verily,' was our reply. 'Then, what's the difference between you and John Tyler!' We really thought we had established that there is a distinction between submitting to a law, because you can't help yourself, and making it, by your own direct vote or your representatives. But perhaps there is none, and Mr. Oscar Lafayette, who has just refused to take the oath of allegiance to Louis Napoleon, and thereby lost his commission, is as guilty of his tyrannies as St. Arnaud himself, because he pays postage. But Mr. Mann must n't crow over the discovery as the result of his own particular incubation. It was hatched long before he begun to *peep.*

I believe it is Dr. Johnson who said 'that no man was ever written down, except by himself.' Mr. Mann seems to have set himself seriously to work to carry out that process. He has had the reputation of being a man of rather more than average ability. No one would, surely, ever arrive at such a conclusion, who should judge of him only from his controversy with Mr. Phillips. If this afford a fair specimen of his logic, his ethics, his law, his temper and his manners, it is no wonder that he left the bar to superintend schools, and then, attempting public life and failing in it, that he should retire to the Western country to try and find a career among strangers. Not that he does not display ingenuity, but it is the ingenuity of an Old Bailey attorney; and quickness enough, but it is the agility of a Clown in the Ring, who jumps between his antagonist's legs, and, hitting him a blow behind, waves his wooden sword in sign of triumph. His ingenuity has been shown in avoiding every issue presented to him by his opponent, in leaving his readers as ignorant when he left off as when he begun as to his opinion on the main point on which the political argument rested, and in diverting attention from material questions, as they arose, to absurdly inconsequential issues. He had the disadvantage, to be sure, of having lost his temper in the beginning of his controversy, and having to deal with an adversary who kept the entire control of his. As Mr. Phillips would condescend to take no notice of the impertinency and insults of Mr. Mann, and contented himself with sweeping away his sophistries, if he would suffer them to hang long enough without spinning them over again, Mr. Mann was placed in a predicament eminently uncomfortable to one of his temperament. The calm contempt with which Mr. Phillips passed by all the abuse which Mr. Mann, doubtless, regarded as the strongest part of his argument, while he contented himself with exposing the inanility of his positions and his logic, must have been deeply mortifying to so vain a man. They fully account for the grotesque antics of simulated triumph by which he made himself ridiculous in his concluding letter, when he found Mr. Phillips declined further controversy with him.

It is very well known that Mr. Mann is not without unfriends in Massachusetts. It is alleged of him that he is selfish, unscrupulous, slippery and tricky. To be sure, this reputation prevails chiefly, among the Whig party, to which he clung with such a desperate tenacity, and which found it so hard to get rid of him, but that party constitutes a large proportion of the inhabitants, I have always supposed that these allegations were pure exaggerations. If anything could induce me to believe that the majority was right for once, it would be his part in this discussion. What a case, for instance, does Mr. Mann give his maligners to cite against him, where, in his absurd attempt to show that he did all that he ought in behalf of the colored children, when Superintendent of schools, he says? '*Nine years ago,* I published articles and arguments in my *Common School Journal,* vindicating the right of colored children to attend our public schools with whites.' Who would not suppose, from this way of stating his case, that *he* was the author of the 'articles and arguments'! And yet the only allusion to the subject is the insertion of Mr. Fletcher's legal opinion on the unconstitutionality of the Separate Schools, and the resolutions of the Salem City Government abolishing them, without note or comment by Mr. Mann! To be sure, what he says is *literally* true, for he did publish 'articles and arguments,' calling the Salem Resolutions 'articles,' and Mr. Fletcher's opinion 'arguments;' but the impression conveyed by the form of words was almost necessarily false. You remember what King Biddle said about truth being so arranged as to have the effect of falsehood. Suppose Mr. Fletcher's opinion had been in favor of Separate Schools, and the City Government of Salem had set them up instead of abolishing them, and Mr. Mann had copied both into his *Journal,* as he might very properly have done, as a part of the current history of Education, and Mr. Phillips had said, 'Nine years ago, Mr. Mann published articles and arguments in favor of Colored Schools,' what an outcry would not Mr. Mann have sent up, against the injustice of attributing to him the doings and words of others! But the case would have been a precise counterpart to the one Mr. Mann sets up. I have no doubt that Mr. Mann really thinks that the claims of truth are sufficiently satisfied by such a verbal fulfilment of his statement; but he must not be surprised if men of the world should say, as I heard one, in view of it, 'Why, this man seems to want to have the advantage of a lie, without having the courage to tell it!'

But I had not the faintest intention of looking at any of the serious aspects of this controversy. The Comical ones were too plenty to reduce me to that point. To think of Mr. Mann, a Free Soiler, and a member of Congress, *twitting* Mr. Phillips with taking six months (or a year, I forget which) to get up a speech! Really! How long does it take Mr. Mann, not to mention other eminent Free Soilers, to produce one? How many Anti-Slavery speeches has he made in the four years he has been in Congress! How many has any of them made, always excepting honest old Joshua Giddings, who *has* been able 'to catch the Speaker's eye' tolerably often? And then we don't pay Mr. Phillips eight dollars a day and mileage, to do our work for us. Sure, never was there a more unlucky fling than this! This is, indeed,

> 'The gun that, aimed at duck or plover,
> Recoils and kicks the owner over.'

And then Mr. Mann's diverting war-dance, in his last letter, over the enemy who declined being the target of his abuse any longer! As long as there was any possibility of Mr. Mann becoming a fair opponent, willing to argue a question like a gentleman, Mr. Phillips was willing to wait for him to recover his temper and collect his logic. But when it was plain that Mr. Mann's only strategy was to throw mud at his antagonist, and dust in the eyes of the bystanders, Mr. Phillips thought himself at liberty to withdraw from his neighborhood. And then Mr. Mann raises his song of triumph, and magnifies the glorious victory he has achieved! It is as if a Scavenger, having a dispute with a gentleman, desirous of doing him justice, if he had harmed him, and being shown to be in the wrong, should carry on the discussion by the professional argument of handfuls of dirt, and his antagonist, having done all that fairness could demand, retires out of his reach, should wave his broom over his head, and shout Victory! See how he runs away! Mr. Mann should consider that there is a point at which a gentleman may withdraw from a contest with one who shows himself, certainly, not his equal in that particular.—D. V.

From the Syracuse Chronicle.

DEATH OF ENOCH REED.

We announced yesterday the death of the first, thus far the only, and we trust the last, victim of this hypocritical Government, in connection with the righteous rescue of the man Jerry. This is the second of the indicted rebels who have been called away from the U. S. District Court of the State of New York to a higher and a purer tribunal.

We never knew Reed, even by sight, but we have heard that his was a checkered life. He has seen a great deal of trouble. A year or two since, he was attacked by some Irishmen, in the spirit which usually animates chivalrous white men, when they want to 'lick a nigger.' In self-defence, he stabbed his assailant to the heart; was tried and acquitted —justifiable homicide. The Rescue trials followed soon after, and Enoch's being the clearest case of participation in that affair, he was first tried. There could hardly be a doubt that the poor colored man had felt the bonds of his brother so keenly as to have been wrought up to the most unpatriotic and un-American extremity of knocking off his chains and bidding him go free. By the superhuman exertions of a mighty intellect, and with the assistance of eminent Counsel, and a Court, whose overpowering concern for the Union excluded all exciting topics from the minds of the jury, Attorney Lawrence succeeded in covering himself with glory by getting the poor fellow convicted of something or other—enough, at least, to condemn him to the State Prison. Pending a motion for arrest of judgment, Enoch was at large on bail. And now he is at large *without* bail. His enormous crime of playing Good Samaritan to Jerry will stand some better chance, we apprehend, at the tribunal where he has g

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JUNE 17, 1853.

POSITION DEFINED.

In our present number, Hon. HORACE MANN has given his long-desired reply to the inquiry, 'Does the Constitution of the United States contain any compromises with the Slave Power, or is it, and was it designed to be in its framers, an anti-slavery instrument?' We are glad to receive it, even at this late hour, and commend it to the careful and candid perusal of every one of our readers. In this grave question, fortunately, nothing of personality is involved. Overleaping all personal and all sectional considerations, it relates to the very structure of the government and the permanence of the Union, and is as momentous as any that can challenge the attention of the people. If Mr. Mann is satisfied with his manner of dealing with the Gordian knot, he will not, of course, be troubled with any conscientious scruples; but how far his reasoning may be accepted by others, as conclusive, is a very different matter. To us, it seems attenuated and weak as the spider's web.

We cannot now examine Mr. Mann's Letter minutely. Indeed, so keenly sensitive is he to criticism, (beyond any other dialectician with whom we are acquainted,) and so reluctant are we to inflict any wound upon his feelings, that we hesitate to make even a passing comment upon it. Much is to be pardoned to a highly nervous temperament; but then, he who consents to enter the arena of free discussion, and especially to fill a high political station, must be as willing to take as to give blows—thinking little of himself, but every thing of his cause.

How does Mr. Mann dispose of the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution?

1. The three-fifths basis of representation in Congress for the slave population of the South, (which JOHN QUINCY ADAMS justly said is 'committing the lamb to the custody of the wolf,') Mr. Mann terms 'a rule of flexibility as to the slave States,'—because, if the slaves were all counted as freemen, the South would be entitled to fifteen additional representatives. Yes, *if* the slaves were all freemen, such a consequence would follow, and the universal distribution of the power would be the safety of all; but, as they are all slaves, to assert three-fifths of them as freemen, expressly to augment the power of *their masters* in that relation, and to consent to this atrocious arrangement, is an act which admits of no explanation or defence. It is to make an oligarchy of the most detestable character.

2. The clause relating to the suppression of domestic insurrections, Mr. Mann thinks does not apply to slaves in a state of rebellion, except when the safety of a *free* State (!) is menaced—and, in case the slaves of the South institute on its soil 'a complete and not a partial form of republican government, the question will be open to every member of Congress, which is the insurgent party, and which, therefore, the party to be suppressed.' The whole country happens to differ from Mr. Mann in this opinion, and the country cannot be in error as to its intentions and obligations, constitutionally, on this point. With what alacrity the United States Government employed its military forces to quell 'the Nat Turner insurrection' in Virginia, in 1831! Was at that time thought of calling the Government to account for so doing? What is Mr. Mann's construction of this clause but a virtual dissolution of the Union? Let the South answer that question!

3. We now come to the provision of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor, and upon it Mr. Mann expends, we think, a good deal of special pleading. He quibbles about the words of that provision,—insists that a slave is not therein described, —says if the contracting parties failed to express their meaning in language sufficiently plain, their purpose is inactive, &c. But he admit that 'the practice of the government, for more than sixty years, conflicts with such an exposition.' We say, IT UTTERLY REFUTES IT. He further admits that the framers of the Constitution adopted a phraseology, under which the slaveholder might claim to continue in the possession of his slaves, for a time, and *until the period should arrive at which*, as was then expected, *slavery would cease out of the land*. When that expected epoch should come, the Constitution would *apply to free men alone*.' But this admission is fatal to his previous criticism. It concedes the whole ground of controversy. Slavery still exists—the language of the Constitution remains unaltered—therefore, the obligation to restore the fugitive slave still rests upon all the States. No, says Mr. Mann—no such obligation is now binding, because, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, it was *supposed* that slavery would not survive long after the abolition of the foreign slave trade; but, as more than sixty years have elapsed since that time, and that supposition has proved to be grossly erroneous, it follows that the fugitive clause has expired by the law of limitation, and is no longer to be executed!!! This is a novel mode of annihilating an objectionable feature of the Constitution —simply by an unfulfilled 'supposition,' made by whom, or on what evidence, we are left to guess! And this is the result of Mr. Mann's constitutional effort! Why, the fabled mountain in labor brought forth something more in keeping with its bulk than this!

THE BIBLE CONVENTION AT HARTFORD.

We have devoted more than four columns on our last page to the comments of the 'Satanic press,' both religious and political, on the late Bible Convention at Hartford. This is merely the first instalment. Such an outpouring of Billingsgate filth, personal blackguardism, foul misrepresentation, and serpent malignity, it is difficult to parallel in the annals of human depravity. *And all this in defence of the Bible as the inspired Word of God—the only rule of faith and practice!!!* Observe how consonant are the language, spirit and object of Bennett's *Herald* and the *New York Observer*, the *Boston Bee* and *Zion's Advocate*, the *Hartford Courant* and the *Boston Traveller*—all deadly hostile to the anti-slavery cause, the advocates of the Fugitive Slave Law, the venomous assailants of every struggling reform, the stirrers up of mobocratic outbreaks, and the mercenary caterers to a feculent public sentiment!—Let the wolves howl and the serpents hiss!

The following are the Resolutions that were submitted to the Convention, on the individual responsibility of the movers, either as embodying their own views or for the purpose of eliciting discussion—but no action was taken on them, as none was contemplated or desired.

Offered by HENRY C. WRIGHT:—

Resolved, That the Bible, *in some parts of the Old and New Testaments*, sanctions polygamy, concubinage, injustice, cruelty, oppression, war, and wholesale plunder and murder; therefore, the doctrine, that the Bible, *as a whole*, emanated from a God of love and justice, is false, and most injurious to the true development and happiness of man.

Offered by SELDEN J. FINNEY, of Ohio:—

Resolved, That the spirit and genius of Bible religion, as a great system, both as found in itself and as generally understood by all popular orthodox sects in Christendom, is not a system of salvation from sin or its effects, but a system of damnation into sin and its effects —not a system of human redemption from the bondage of religious error and moral corruption, but a system of enslaving into the bondage of religious error and moral corruption. That it is a system of theological, religious, and spiritual piracy, carried on by a bigoted priesthood, against the truths and laws of man's moral and spiritual nature.

Therefore, Resolved, That, as a system, it is the friend of moral and spiritual slavery, and that it is therefore the foe of human, mental and spiritual liberty, and, consequently, the foe of human progress.

Resolved, That all the Orthodox clergymen of the city of Hartford, and of all other places, who have received or seen a copy of the Call for this Convention, and have not and will not come forward on this free platform to defend or attempt to defend the Bible from the charges brought against their views of its origin, authority and influence, by free and unprejudiced minds, have openly declared their own infidelity to their professions of theological faith; that they love religious tyranny better than religious freedom; that they have, by refusing to discuss with us the great questions before this Convention, declared publicly the weakness and folly of their arrogant assumption to be called competent teachers of the people upon all matters pertaining to theological, religious and moral subjects; that they love popular favor more than common good; that they are therefore moral cowards, and deserve to be abandoned by public patronage, and pointed out by every true reformer as the pharisees of this nineteenth century, seeking to enslave more and more the mind of man to the dark dogmas and absurd superstitions of ancient mythology.

Offered by Prof. BRITTAN, of New York:—

Resolved, That inasmuch as the essential principles of life, and sense, and thought, and the ultimate causes of all things in being, whether visible or invisible, are for ever imperceptible by the physical senses, we may therefore, without violating the highest prerogatives of reason, believe in the actual occurrence of such occult and spiritual phenomena as are alleged to have occurred in different ages of the world, provided always that such accounts are supported by the concurrent testimony of several disinterested witnesses of known integrity and sagacity.

Resolved, That we believe Deity exists in and outside of His universe—that the life of God flows out through all His creatures—and hence that the life spiritual, or the divine spirit, pervades and actuates all his creatures, in the precise degree which may best secure the sublime objects and issues of His government.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, God is visible in all things, as they approximate in the standard of divine perfection; that we behold His likeness in the human intelligence more distinctly than we trace it elsewhere in the inferior objects of creation; that the nature of this being, man, according to the Scriptures, was fashioned in the divine image, and that His spirit is, when its attributes are harmonized, the temple of the living God.

Resolved, Consistently with the views expressed in the foregoing resolutions, we must conclude that the relations subsisting between the human and divine are immutable and eternal; that inspiration is a perpetual fact, and that no written or oral communication, purporting to be the records of ancient revelations, however true those records may be, can supply to the individual soul and the world the place of living and present justification.

Resolved, That, in our humble opinion, the ancient prophets, and Jesus Christ, and some of his apostles and others, in different ages of the world, were, through their susceptibility to spiritual influence, inspired; but that the records of what they expressed should be tried by the highest ordeal which the enlightened reason is competent to institute.

Resolved, That we have confidence in the innate intelligence of human nature, much as it is perverted, and that we believe that most men, of all classes, not excepting the clergy, are disposed—as far as the original constitution, the force of our imperfect or false education, and the imperfection of existing institutions will allow—to honor the truth and to respect the right, and hence that dogmatism and denunciation are unbecoming the reformer, whose true mission is to inquire, to reason, and to teach.

Offered by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts:—

Resolved, That the doctrine of the American Church and Priesthood, that the Bible is the Word of God; that whatever it contains was given by Divine inspiration; and that it is the only rule of faith and practice; is self-evidently absurd, exceedingly injurious both to the intellect and soul, highly pernicious in its application, and a stumbling-block in the way of human redemption.

Resolved, That this doctrine has too long been held as a potent weapon in the hands of time-serving commentators and designing priests, to beat down the rising spirit of religious liberty, and discourage scientific development; to subserve the interests of blind guides and false teachers; and to fill all Christendom with contention and strife; and, therefore, the time has come to declare its untruthfulness, and to unmask those who are guilty of this imposture.

Resolved, That 'the Word of God is not bound,' either within the lids of any book or by ecclesiastical edict, but, like its Divine Author, was before all books, and is every where present, and from everlasting to everlasting—ever enunciating the same law and requiring the same obedience, 'being quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword,'—the Bible itself being witness.

Resolved, That it is a secondary question as to when, where or by whom the books of the Old and New Testament were written; but the primary and all-important question is, what do they teach and command?—and in order to ascertain this, they are to be freely examined, and as readily accepted or rejected as any other books, according as they are found worthless or valuable.

Resolved, That it is the climax of audacity and impiety for this nation to profess to receive the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and then to make it a penal offence to give it to any of the millions who are held as chattel slaves on this soil; thus conspiring to make them miserable here and hereafter.

Resolved, That, judging them by their course of action towards all the reforms of the age, and their position in society, the clergy of this country, as a body, would as readily burn the Bible to-morrow, if public sentiment demanded it, and persecution and loss of character should be the result of disobedience, as today they are found earnest in their endorsement of the plenary inspiration of that book, in accordance with public sentiment.

Resolved, That it would be as absurd as untrue to deny, that the Bible embodies a large amount of truth —vital, precious, eternal; that many of its requirements are just and obligatory—many of its warnings salutary and instructive—many of its promises soul-sustaining and glorious—many of its commands and precepts rational and righteous—many of its views of God and nature elevating and inspiring; but it is not less absurd and untrue to deny, that it also contains many fallacies, contradictions, misconceptions, misrepresentations, fabulous stories, incredible assertions, and hurtful errors. Therefore, it cannot be, as a book, the Word of God, (which is pure and unchangeable,) nor the only rule of faith and practice; but, as a mixture of good and evil, light and darkness, truth and error, is to be read with discrimination, and neither accepted nor rejected in the gross, but only as the individual understanding and conscience shall determine the character of its multifarious and conflicting contents.

Resolved, That the history of the Bible, from century to century, abundantly proves not only that the interpretations of its letter and spirit, by its recognized expounders, have been fiercely conflictive and numberless; but that they have been such only as the age would tolerate, and always in accordance with the despotic spirit of the times, whether religious or political; that any other interpretations thereof, by the individual soul, have been denounced as heretical or punished as blasphemous or revolutionary; that all forms of government—autocratic, monarchical, military and republican—have alike found their sanction and support in its pages, as at this day; hence, that to be a believer in its authority has been, and still is, simply to be with the majority, and to take the side of the strongest.

Resolved, That a profession of faith in the Bible, as a holy book, is no better evidence of moral worth or true piety in Christendom, than is a profession of faith in the sacredness of the Koran in Asia; because, in both cases, it is to conform to public opinion, or to bow to the sceptre of ecclesiastical domination; and not to do so is to excite malignant persecution, and bring the reputation, safety and interest of the dissenter into imminent peril.

INDIGNATION MEETING TO SUSTAIN THE BIBLE.

HARTFORD, June 7, 1853.

DEAR GARRISON:

As you are aware, the Bible Convention adjourned on Sunday evening, the 5th inst., after holding twelve sessions, attended by a large concourse, and with deep interest, from the beginning. You left Hartford for Boston on Monday (yesterday) morning. The evening of the same day (Monday) towards sundown, notice was issued for an Indignation Meeting in the Melodeon—the place where the Bible Convention was held. I did not know of it, A. J. DAVIS did not, and, of course, we were not present. The house was crowded. A Chairman was appointed, and a Committee to report resolutions. Resolutions were reported and spoken to, condemning the Convention for meeting to discuss the divine authority of the Bible; also, condemning the Convention for not allowing fair play to the advocates of its divine origin and authority; and also justifying, or apologizing for, the conduct of the students in their efforts to mob the Convention. I have not seen the resolutions, but am informed by those who were present that such is their import.

Rev. Mr. Turner, who took so prominent a part in the Convention, in defence of the divine authority and infallibility of the book, took a leading part in the indignation meeting, declaring that the Convention did not allow the advocates of the Bible fair play; that they had not one third of the time, when they should have had half. He was asked if he considered any others to be advocates of the Bible but himself and George Storrs, and he would not admit that any in the Convention were advocates of the Bible, except themselves! He saw, as all did, that those who professed to be advocates of the divine authority and infallibility of the Bible had half of the time; but he would not allow that those who professed to be the advocates of the book, were truly so. He seemed, throughout the Convention, and in the meeting last evening, to regard none as the advocates of the Bible but those who denied the *natural* immortality of the soul, and who held to the annihilation of the wicked; doctrines which he seemed most anxious to lay before the Convention; whereas, the Convention was bound to consider all as supporters of *plenary inspiration* who came forward as such.

Mr. Turner and the indignation meeting were most anxious to exonerate all believers in the Bible from the charge of exciting and participating in the mob. He and the meeting were told, by those who saw and knew the persons concerned in exciting the disturbance, that Episcopalians, Baptists and Congregationalists were concerned in it. One said—'I recognized many students of Trinity College, whom I was sorry to see engaged in such a riot. I was near them when our officers arrested one of them. The Trinity student drew his cane to strike the officer. From one of the students, the officer took a dirk cane. I was among them all the while, trying to dissuade them from mixing in the mob, wishing to maintain the right to speak and to hear. I did not see one who was opposed to the divine authority of the Bible taking part in the mob. They were all, so far as I could see, defenders of the Bible. I don't reject the Bible myself; I believe it contains great truths, which do not need rioting and violence for their support. One Calvinist man near me said, "I like the fun. It's dog eat dog; and I don't care which whips." One Episcopalian claimed that he was a leader in the mob, and his cane was going incessantly. Bibleists blamed the officers for arresting the students. They insisted that the students and other Bibleists had been greatly outraged by the Convention. Mr. Turner insisted that it was not Bibleists who mobbed the Convention.'

Many who saw and knew the men, declare that Bibleists were the mobocrats, and that *Naturalists*, or those who take *natural* law and religion as the only true law and religion, were peaceful, and took no part in creating the riot. The Hartford *Courant* is out today in a malignant article, sustaining the mob, and condemning the advocates of Nature and of Nature's God as instigators of the riot. One fact is conspicuous to all—the advocates of *plenary inspiration* were never disturbed at all; only the opponents of the divine origin and authority of the Bible were hissed and mobbed down. This was the fact during the Convention, and also in the indignation meeting.

Why should not Bibleists mob and put down by violence all who seek to introduce new and higher ideas of God and our relations to him? The Bible authorises putting to death all who seek to change the popular views of God. This nation believes God to be a man of war; they are authorised by the Bible to stone to death all who would change this view of God, and show that he is a God of love and peace. This nation believes God is an almighty slave-trader and slave-driver and slave-hunter: all who would overthrow this idea of God, the Bible would term atheists and blasphemers, and have them put to death as such. See the laws of the Bible touching those who would entice people and induce them to embrace other views of God than those taught by Moses. Doubtless, those Trinity mobocrats thought they were doing *their* God service in mobbing the Convention. They certainly were acting under the guidance of a public sentiment created by Dr. Joel Hawes and other professed ministers of the Bible.

What will come of this Convention? It has already rocked old Connecticut as it never was shaken before on this subject. The papers call loudly for the interference of government to prevent the holding of any future Conventions in the State to discuss the Bible. Let the papers, the government, the Church and State of Connecticut rest assured that other Conventions of the *people*, to discuss the origin, authority and influence of the Bible, will be held in Hartford, New Haven, in Springfield, Worcester, Boston, and all over the country, till the claims of the book are fairly tested, and till the people have 'proved all things' respecting it, and cast away the false and received the true. Provision has been made for calling other Conventions. The discussion of this question has been confined to the priesthood. The people are beginning to take the work of their own enlightenment into their own hands. Let the people 'prove all things, and hold fast *only* that which is good.' The issue is between Nature and the Bible—between the religion of Nature and the religion of the Bible—between natural, fixed law, and the arbitrary law of the Bible—between the GOD OF NATURE AND THE GOD OF THE BIBLE. Is there a contradiction between them? In what does it consist? Which must yield—Nature or the Bible?—the God of Nature or the God of the Bible? The simple difference between Bibleists and Naturalists is this: the former test Nature, or facts, by the Bible; the latter test the Bible by the facts and laws of Nature. The Bible is certainly opposed, in some of its teachings, to the facts of our physical, social and spiritual nature; and in all such cases, it is false and most pernicious in its tendency, when it is all set forth as the Word of God.

It has been a great pleasure to A. J. DAVIS and his wife to have you, JOSEPH BARKER, PARKER PILLSBURY and myself as guests the past few days. I speak for one, and I think for all, when I say it has been a no less gratification to us to have enjoyed their affectionate and loving kindness. It is impossible to know them, and not love and respect them. The extraordinary power possessed by A. J. DAVIS, and the perfect, child-like simplicity, unselfishness and dignity with which he bears himself, under the wide-spread reputation he enjoys and justly merits, must command the loving regard of all who know him, and have power to appreciate goodness and talent. May he ever be a pillar of light amid the darkness that covers the people!

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

☞ LETTERS and communications for the subscriber, whether on business of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, or otherwise, should be sent to him at LEICESTER, Mass., until further notice.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.

☞ A score of communications on file, waiting for an insertion. 'There's a good time coming!'

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

SACRIFICIAL RELIGION AND SPIRITUAL RELIGION. An Installation Sermon, preached before the Groveland Independent Church, Sunday, May 1, 1853. By DAVID A. WASSON. Published by Request. Boston: 1853.

Mr. WASSON is a young man, whose experience in the ministry has necessarily been limited, and yet sufficiently extended to satisfy him that a sectarian pulpit is not a place for manly freedom of thought and expression; so that he who consents to occupy it must repudiate all ideas of progress, and bring his mental and spiritual nature into slavish conformity to the past. Orthodox in his profession, he has subordinated his theology to his humanity; and, for having done this, and shown a disposition to 'prove all things,' as well as to 'hold fast that which is good,' he has been compelled to dissolve his connection with the church of which he was formerly pastor. But he has drawn around him a company of truth-seekers, to whom he is now ministering, with entire freedom of utterance. His present position is interesting and unique. 'We have founded here,' he says, 'as well as we could, a church for the new time; a church looking forward, not backward; a church of hope for our earth, and not of despair; a church of freedom, into which we can put something of individual will, and do not merely submit ourselves to it, as dough to be shapen and baked. We have set up here a free pulpit, demanding of its occupant this only, that, drawing, to the utmost possible, an inspiration fresh from God, he speak the best word that is in him.'

Of the old New England Church he says—'Its thunders are all boltless now; its arm, like aged Priam's, falls ineffectual, with weak and hurtless stroke; its anathema, issuing from decrepit lips, but clothes a shriek as hollow and despairing as that which cleft the steep of Delphos, when the smitten deity felt his dynasty over, and fled his fane forever; and its blessing is well-nigh as bootless as its curse.' . . . 'We go not to curse the house that once gave us shelter, leaky grown and tottering though now it be. Into sad dilapidation it has indeed fallen in these days. The rains inundate it; the winds whistle through its crannies, and search it with a keen and curious quest; the owl and bat of superstition fly there; there the rat of worldliness hides, and thieves, and thrives; and we could find there no shelter for our souls, no divine habitation. We go thence; but go only in order to build better, for ourselves, and for those that come after.'

This Sermon is throughout fresh, vigorous, animating. We have other passages marked for publication, if hereafter we can find room for them. Its motto is well chosen from John Milton:—'Truth is compared in Scripture to a streaming fountain: if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition.' We advise the purchase and perusal of it by all who can procure a copy.

BOOK OF HUMAN NATURE: Illustrated by the Philosophy (New Theory) of Instinct, Nutrition, Life; with their correlative and abnormal Phenomena, Psychological, Mental, Physical. By LAROY SUNDERLAND. Boston:

BOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY—Historical, Philosophical, Practical. By LAROY SUNDERLAND.

BOOK OF HEALTH: with Practical Remarks on Parentage, Infancy, Food, Diet, Labor, Recreation, Sleep, Bathing, Clothing, Air, Causes of Ill Health, etc. By LAROY SUNDERLAND. Second Edition.

These Books have recently been published in this city, by BELA MARSH, 25 Cornhill. The first is a closely printed volume of 432 pages, and contains a great amount of curious, entertaining, practical, and highly valuable information, on a great variety of subjects,—evincing, on the part of the author, unusual powers of observation and reflection. That portion of it which relates to Pneumatology—'Spirits, Possession, Inspiration'—will be read with deep interest. Probably no man in this country has given more attention to the subject of 'Spiritual Manifestations,' or witnessed them more frequently, or in greater variety, than Mr. Sunderland. His investigations have not been casual nor incidental merely; nor have they been confined to times or places. They were undertaken in order to find the truth, and have been continued, in different parts of the country, for years, without any interruption. 'During this time,' he says, 'I have devoted my whole attention to this work, so that I have been, not daily but hourly, as it were, in converse with the spirits by the sounds. Sittings have been held in my own family till they approached a thousand, which have been attended by large numbers of people, and all the phenomena have taken place which have been described by various writers on the subject. . . . I have witnessed these manifestations in all their various forms, in different places throughout the country. Indeed, I have witnessed more of them than any other *one* person, of whom I have any knowledge.'

With such facilities, therefore, for investigating the subject, all who are interested in it (and the number is great and steadily increasing) will be curious to learn to what conclusion Mr. Sunderland has come respecting the 'manifestations.' In the first place, he is satisfied that they are not dependent on human volition, nor produced by electricity, nor are they electricity itself, nor pathetism, nor the work of necromancy or the devil. In the second place, he thinks it not unreasonable to suppose that they are neither ephemeral nor accidental, any more than the development of the human race; for they correspond with all of nature's other developments, especially in their beginning and progression—the first communications having been imperfect and fragmentary when compared with those which followed. Thirdly, he believes that they are of spiritual origin, but that they come only from a class of spirits who are the least spiritual, or the nearest to the external world; hence, that they are never absolutely reliable, and in very many instances are wholly deceptive and untruthful, being the work of lying spirits. Of the literature of the spirit-world, as exhibited in numerous publications, he justly forms a low estimate, and makes a very amusing review of the same, exploding the whole by a touch of his analytical wand. The communications purporting to have emanated from such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Calhoun, O'Connell, Clarkson, George Fox, William Penn, &c. &c., he deems puerile and common-place, and indicative of great mental deterioration since they 'shuffled off this mortal coil.' Still, of the mediums he says, 'They are all, as far as I am prepared to testify, honest and truthful. Some of them have suffered severe trials and undeserved obloquy enough to entitle them to the lasting gratitude of men and angels.'

We have marked numerous passages for insertion in our paper at the earliest opportunity. In the mean time, we refer all who are interested in this subject to the book itself as well worthy of a careful perusal.

Once a narrow but sincere sectarist, Mr. Sunderland is now delivered from the bondage of a false theology, and uses the language of a manly and independent thinker, who is in search of truth and goodness. 'The spirit of sectarianism,' he says, 'is the same, whether in Protestant or Papist. Persecution or denunciation, for opinion's sake, has generally been done by religious bigots, who have relied most on the priesthood or the Bible for their authority. Hence we find, that as men depend upon *one* man, or *one* book, for matters of Faith, instead of receiving it from the Universal Heavens, they then become sectarians, and act accordingly.' And he ingenuously says—'Formerly, I gratified my combativeness by holding up those who differed from me as "infidels," who would be doomed by the Infinite Father of all to a never-ending hell. Now, my means are comprehended in the universal diffusion of goodness, justice and truth.'

The other two books by Mr. Sunderland—on HEALTH and PSYCHOLOGY—are of a popular character, and filled with interesting and instructive matter.

RHYMES WITH REASON AND WITHOUT. By B. P. SHILLABER. Boston: Abel Tompkins and B. B. Mussey & Co. 1853.

MEMOIR OF MRS. JULIA H. SCOTT; with her Poems, and Selections from her Prose. By Mrs. C. M. SAWYER. Boston: Published by Abel Tompkins. 1853.

DISCOURSES ON THE BEATITUDES. By E. H. CHAPIN. Boston: Published by Abel Tompkins. 1853.

Each of these three works possesses intrinsic merits, and they all appear in a style of neatness and beauty corresponding to their worth. Mr. Shillaber has obtained great celebrity through his imaginary but inimitable 'Mrs. Partington's' conversations, as well as by his poems, which are full of humor and sentiment. A good likeness of the author accompanies the work. The Memoir of Mrs. Scott shows her to have been a woman of superior worth and talent. The Discourses of Mr. Chapin are worthy of one of the most fervidly eloquent and able pulpit occupants in the land, and embody their own panegyric.

FOURTH OF JULY!

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

The MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold a Mass Meeting, in honor and for the promotion of the true principles of Liberty and Independence, at ABINGTON, in the well-known Grove near the Centre of the town, on MONDAY, JULY 4th.

Eloquent Speaking, the Songs of Freedom, Social Intercourse, with pic-nic entertainments, together with the natural attractions of the place and its scenery, all combine to invite a large gathering of the friends of freedom on the approaching, as on former anniversaries.

It is expected that WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. REMOND, Rev. CALEB STETSON, Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, and several other speakers will attend.

☞ The *Old Colony Railroad* declining this year to afford the accustomed accommodation of reduced fare and special trains, all who go by that road must take, of course, the regular trains. Those leave Boston, at 8, A. M.; and Plymouth, at 6¼ and 10, A. M. Returning, leave the Grove for *Boston*, at 5½, P. M.; for *Plymouth*, about 6, P. M. Fare, Boston to Abington, and back, $1 16; Plymouth to Abington, and back, $1 10; children under fifteen, half-price.

☞ Cold water in abundance will be furnished in the Grove; and there will be an ample supply of provisions for sale.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
} *Committee of Arrange'ts.*

APOLOGY.—We are requested to inform the friends assembled at Bridgewater on Sunday, June 12th, to hear CHARLES LENOX REMOND, that he was prevented by indisposition from being present, and his efforts to obtain a substitute were unsuccessful.

☞ HORACE MANN occupies nearly a page of the last LIBERATOR in a defence of the grounds on which, as a moral and Christian man, he votes and holds office under our Governments, State and National. In another communication, he proposes to give his views of the United States Constitution itself. Thus does THE LIBERATOR exemplify the Anti-Slavery doctrine of free discussion. How many Free Soil journals would allow an advocate of Disunion such an opportunity to defend his views in its columns?—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

☞ Rev. EDWARD N. KIRK, of Boston, who figured in 1834-5-6 as an Abolitionist, and even appeared on the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society with George Thompson, but who afterwards apostatized from the cause, and more recently preached, from a Boston pulpit, the duty of obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law, has gone to Europe, where we hope a knowledge of his pro-slavery acts and relations may follow him. English Abolitionists especially should be furnished with the evidences of his pro-slavery character.—*Ibid.*

TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts, from May 2d to June 1st, 1853.

From Geo. W. Simonds, East Lexington,	$6 00
" John T. Sargent, to redeem pledge,	3 00
" Worcester South A. S. Society,	13 49
" S. S. Foster, for his collections:—	
From Charlotte Roberts, Danvers Port,	10 00
Essex Co. A. S. Society, 5, Benj. Chase, Auburn, N. H., 2, collection at do. 6, Amos Chase, do., 1, Collection at Canterbury, N. H., 4 50, at South Weare, N. H., 2 25, Haverhill 15 48, Geo. W. Lee, do, 1, D. P. Harmon, do, 5, at Parker's Falls, N. H., 1 38, at Milton, N. H., 3 09, J. C. White, Farmington, do, 1, at Great Falls, do, 2 77, Margaret Ham, do, 1, Daniel Emerson, Lee, do, 1, Jonathan Cortland, do, 1, A. M. Tolman, Portland, 50c, N. A. Foster, do, 3, Dr. R. Shackford, do, 3, Ruth H. Morrill, do, 5,	74 92
From J. J. Locke, for his collections:—	
At S. Newmarket 6 83, Stoneham Female A. S. Society 4,	10 83
From Sallie Holley, for her collections:—	
At Fall River, over expenses, 8, Harriet E. Stoddard 1, Michael Barrett 1, collection at Leominster, over expenses, 5, at Joppa village, do, 3 43, Paper Mill village, do, 3, Sally Knapp 25c, collection at Abington, over expenses, 7 03, at N. Bridgewater, do, 2, Hingham, do, 5 11, Portsmouth, N. H., do., $40 07, Mrs. S. D. Parsons 2, Mrs. Washington 25c, Daniel Osborne, Dover, N. H., 2, Abra'm Folsom, do, 2, R. C. Miller, do, 1 72, a friend, do, 50c, collection in Portland, over expenses, 28 75, Neal Dow, do, 5, Harriet Dow, do, 50c, a friend 1, Elizabeth W. Thomas 3, Abigail Tolman 1 50, Mrs. Elizabeth Varnum 2, a friend 1, collection at Manchester, N. H., over expenses, 31 81, Milford 15 61, L. Chase 1, Alvan B. Chase 1, Eugene Hutchinson Jr., 50c, collection at Nashua, over expenses, 4, Lowell, do, 8 22, Henry Abbott 1,	189 25
From S. May, Jr., for collections and donations at Convention,	473 48

SAMUEL PHILBRICK,
Treas. Mass. A. S. Society.

Brookline, June 1, 1853.

MARRIED—In this city, by Rev. John T. Raymond, PATRICK HENRY RAYMOND, of Cambridgeport, to Miss MARY SCOTT, of Lynn.

☞ ABINGTON MEETING. WM. L. GARRISON will attend an Anti-Slavery Convention at the Town Hall, on Sunday, June 19. H. C. WRIGHT will also be present on the occasion. It is hoped that as many of the friends and others as can, will attend the meeting, as it is to be one of unusual importance.

☞ ESSEX COUNTY—ATTENTION! The annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Lynn, on Saturday and Sunday, June 25th and 26th, agreeably to adjournment, commencing Saturday evening, 7½ o'clock. A full attendance of the friends of the slave is earnestly solicited. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and other speakers will be present.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, *President.*
JOSEPH MERRILL, *Sec'ry.*

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak as follows:—

New Ipswich, N. H.	Sunday	June 19.
Harwich	Sunday	" 26.
Hyannis	Sunday	July 3.

☞ A public meeting, on the FOURTH OF JULY, is to be held at NORTH DENNIS, at which PARKER PILLSBURY will deliver an address.

☞ Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will speak as follows:—

Blackstone, "	Sunday,	June 19.
Providence, R. I.	Sunday,	" 26.

☞ SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Canterbury, "	Sunday,	June 19.
Littleton, "	Sunday,	" 26.
Dover, "	Friday,	July 1.

☞ NOTICE. The Worcester County (North Division) Anti-Slavery Society will hold a meeting at EAST PRINCETON, on Sunday, June 26, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. [Speakers to be named next week.]

SUMNER LINCOLN, *President.*
A. A. BENT, *Sec'ry.*

NEW BOOKS,

OF RARE INTEREST AND VALUE,

JUST PUBLISHED BY

JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY,

BOSTON.

OWING to the unparalleled draft upon our resources, during the past year, on account of the unexampled sale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest moment, and now offer them to the *readers of good books*. Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published speedily.

THE SHADY SIDE;

OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE,

BY A PASTOR'S WIFE.

This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, *Sunny Side*, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work. It is written in an admirable style, and he who commences its perusal will hardly be able to stop until he has gone through. Price 75 cts.

Count Struenzee the Skeptic, and THE CHRISTIAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON.

This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Muntor, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus. Price 62 1-2 cts.

THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST,

BY W. G. SCHAUFFLER,

Missionary at Constantinople.

A portion of this most admirably written volume of Meditations on the last hours of our Savior upon earth, was published some years since, and met with great favor from the religious public. The work has been re-written, and very much enlarged, and is again offered to the community. We would not say a word in its commendation to those who have read the volume as originally published. To those who love to go with the Redeemer of men, to meditate in the garden of Gethsemane, or upon the mount of Olives, or by the sea of Galilee, this volume will afford a vein of sacred thought. Price $1 00.

THE TRIAL BY JURY,

BY LYSANDER SPOONER.

We need not inform the public that any work from Mr. Spooner's pen would be one of great research and learning—his logical acuteness as a writer is too well known. This, his last, and perhaps his greatest effort, on the Trial by Jury, is destined to create a commotion in the world. Jurymen will learn their rights and duties from it, and also learn to what an alarming extent their rights have been encroached upon. We bespeak for this able treatise a candid perusal. Price—$1.25 in cloth; $1.50 in law sheep.

White Slavery in the Barbary States

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**BOOK OF 1

POETRY.

MUSINGS.

BY MRS. FRANCES D. GAGE.

I am lonely, I am weary—
Would you know the reason why?
'Tis not that the day is dreary—
Not that clouds o'erhang the sky.
No; the April sun is beaming
Warm and genial as 'twere May,
Earth and air, in beauty teeming,
Woo my spirit to be gay.

Merrily the birds are singing,
Circling round the city eaves;
Merrily the bells are ringing,
But my spirit only grieves;—
Grieves for old familiar places,
Far away I've left them all;
Grieves for dear, familiar faces,
Distance hides them as a pall.

This new home is very cheerful,
Husband, children, all are here;
Yet my eyes are sometimes tearful,
Tearful for old memories dear.
By my window I am sitting,
Gazing out upon the street;
Thousands to and fro are flitting,
No familiar glance I meet.

No kind voice of friendly greeting
Falls upon the listening ear,
All seems new and cold and fleeting,
All is strange I see and hear.
Where my violets lay unbosomed,
'Mong the grass so fresh and green,
Where my sweetest roses blossomed,
Pavements cold and hard are seen.

Peering through these dusty shutters,
'Stead of woodbines, wet with dew,
See I only loathsome gutters,
Where my sweetest spring flowers grew.
There the sunbeams lay unbroken,
Where once lay the cool, green shade
Of the cedar and the locust,
Under which the children played.

Ah! I miss the birds and flowers
Of the home I've left behind—
Miss the hill-tops and the bowers,
Miss the odor-wafting wind.
This is not the same old carpet
Upon which we danced at night,
These are not the time-worn curtains
Which shut out the summer light.

All is changed, e'en to the table,
Where I scribbled rhymes of old,
That was cherry, this is marble,—
Ah! 'tis marble, hard and cold!
This soft seat of yielding cushion,
This is not my worn old chair,
Where I rocked my babes to slumber,
With a mother's patient care.

This is new—'tis richer, better;
Somehow it don't suit so well;
That was worn and old and worthless—
Why I loved it, who can tell?
Chair and curtain, table, carpet,
To a stranger's eye may be
Better, fairer than the old ones,
But they're not so good to me.

Memories of joys departed
Cluster not around the new,
Shadows of the loved true-hearted
Spring not with them into view.
They have not been consecrated
Yet, by warm and loving hands,
Friends and kindred have not wreathed them,
O'er and o'er, with myrtle bands.

But I will not sigh in sadness,
Will not let my heart grow cold,
Soon 'twill throb again with gladness,
Soon these new things will be old.
Kind and genial hearts are hov'ring
O'er life's pathway everywhere;
They will come and render sacred
Carpet, curtain, table, chair.

Flowers of love will spring in beauty
To my fancy on the street,
If the dusty paths are trodden
Daily by familiar feet.
If I scatter seeds of kindness
Here and there, as best I may,
Roses fragrant as the old ones
Soon will cheer the lonely way.

Home so loved—old friends so treasured,
Half my heart I'll give to you;
Half I keep in good condition,
Warm and lighted for the new.
I may drop a tear of sorrow
For the past—the far away,
While I'm pilfering from to-morrow,
Smiles and sunshines for to-day.

St. Louis, April 28, 1853.

TRUE FREEDOM, AND HOW TO GAIN IT.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

We want no flag, no flaunting rag,
For Liberty to fight;
We want no blaze of murderous guns,
To struggle for the right.
Our spears and swords are printed words,
The mind our battle-plain;
We've won such victories before,
And so we shall again.

We love no triumphs sprung of force—
They stain her brightest cause;
'Tis not in blood that Liberty
Inscribes her civil laws.
She writes them on the people's heart,
In language clear and plain;
True thoughts have moved the world before,
And so they shall again.

We yield to none in earnest love
Of Freedom's cause sublime;
We join the cry, 'Fraternity!'—
We keep the march of Time.
And yet we grasp not pike nor spear,
Our victories to obtain;
We've won without their aid before,
And so we shall again.

We want no aid of barricade
To show a front to wrong;
We have a citadel in truth,
More durable and strong.
Calm words, great thoughts, unflinching faith,
Have never striv'n in vain;
They've won our battles many a time,
And so they shall again.

Peace, progress, knowledge, brotherhood,
The ignorant may sneer,
The bad deny, but we rely
To see their triumph near.
No widow's groans shall load our cause,
No blood of brethren slain;
We've won without such aid before,
And so we shall again.

EPITAPH.

Beneath these stones
Repose the bones
Of Lord John Jones:
Friends, make your moans.

But vain are moans,
For Lord John Jones
Is naught but bones,
Beneath these stones.'

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Herald.

THE HARTFORD ISMITE CONVENTION.

Meeting of Philosophers, Theologians, Thinkers, Strong-minded Women, Spiritual Rappers, Atheists, and Negroes.

* * * * *

Among the male portion of the audience, many were remarkable for the length of their beards, and their general appearance indicated that their washerwomen were deceased. The ladies bore upon their countenances that rigid, inflexible and stern gravity, which has characterized strong-minded lady philosophers of every age. The sable portion of our population was but feebly represented by two ladies of color, who, if we may judge from the frequent exhibition of their 'ivories,' thought the whole matter the best joke in the world.

The Chair having read the call of the meeting, presented Mr. Andrew Jackson Davis to the meeting, who said—

Mr. Chairman and Friends—I have come this morning prepared to speak upon the following resolution:—

Resolved, That each mind, by virtue of its endowments, should 'prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.'

The course of nature is marked by vast and mighty changes, as all well know. In the lower departments of the physical world, one set of circumstances continue till their motion is completed, when gradually they expire, and from their ashes a new order of things is born into existence. Every great and general improvement in the physical aspect of the globe, every majestic alteration in the nature of things, is preceded, is accompanied and succeeded, by some great announcement and startling demonstration. This is the way of the world outside of man. The formation of mountains was accompanied, by the most terrible convulsions. From centre to circumference the terrestrial ball is shaken—portions fall while others rise—the earth trembles and quakes, and so are made the lofty mountains, the beautiful valleys, the undulating landscape, and the ocean bed. But terrible changes are never terrible in fact. Every alteration in nature's domain is invariably succeeded by better circumstances, and it is only man's short-sightedness which hinders his perceptions of the future good from such alterations. So in the religious world, as in the physical, there are conditions of mind and organization, political, ecclesiastical and otherwise, which demand a change, and he who interrogates rightly the page of progress, receives back the answer that, in the religious world, great and startling alterations have, from time to time, occurred, disturbing, for the time being, the whole body of mankind with paroxysms of apprehensions. But these changes are inevitable. The object of this Convention is to explain and investigate the origin, the authority, and the influence of the Old and New Testaments. What a question for the nineteenth century! In the opinion of numerous well-meaning persons, I am aware a Convention with such an object before it, cannot be anything but a work of supererogation. They suppose the origin, authority and influence of the Testament to be as well established as the sun in the heavens. This is the question of this age, and for the age, because this age, more than any other, possesses the requisite information to answer the question. The miracle of Joshua could not be answered until the immutable laws of planetary harmony were discovered, and cosmological theory could not be answered until the science of geology was developed; and as these sciences have now gained a footing among the people, even so, for the first time, are the people prepared for the examination of the questions before this Convention. In certain prudential minds there exist divers doubts respecting the utility of conventions, either as instruments of good or exponents of truth, more especially when called to the consideration of sacred things. Most people are educated to regard religion as too holy for matter of debate.

The speaker went on to deny the authenticity of the Bible and the Christian religion. We pray and work for liberty, continued he, for human love, and the kingdom of Heaven upon earth, which must necessarily come after all sectarism is forgotten. In conclusion, I would say, we should free ourselves from the sectarism of the church, free ourselves from the mythology of the Bible, and free ourselves from the chains of superstition and bigotry. Reason, reason is the sovereign of the soul, and truth is the sovereign of reason. Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.

A Gentleman from the other end of the hall, greatly excited.—I denounce that tirade as a treasonable attack upon the government of this country, as a blasphemous attack upon the Bible of God, and an attack upon all the institutions of our country. (Cries of 'Give your name.') I will give my name. I call upon the citizens to appoint a committee to have that treasonable and blaphemous tirade published. (Sensation and cries of 'Order!') I denounce this junta, for it is an attack against the Bible, a conspiracy against our government, and an attack upon all Christian churches (Sensation.) Give us an opportunity to get hold of this blasphemous document. (Great confusion, and cries of 'Your name! your name!') Let the Committee have the document, for if Mr. Davis is allowed to retain it, he will make it a little more readable.

The Chairman. Let us have no personalities.

Gentleman. It is a blasphemous document, it is an——('Order!' and great excitement, the two negro ladies grinning from ear to ear.)

The Chairman thought it would be better to avoid personal attacks. You have called us a junta—(to the gentleman.)

Gentleman (much excited.) Yes, Sir, it is a junta—a treasonable conspiracy. I repeat my words, Sir. If you come here to introduce blasphemy, which that tirade of stuff does, I call upon you to print it. It is treason against our country, and a villanous attack on the Bible.* '(Order! Order!')

Mr. Martin, a long-haired individual, here stepped forward with two Bibles, one in each hand. One of these Bibles, said he, belonged to a Mrs. Carpenter, but the rats gnawed the cover off, and they gnawed the passage out, that 'God is love.' Here are two stones, (producing two, flourishing them above his head, gesticulating violently, and walking rapidly from one part of the platform to the other.) Here is the past history of the world. If you had been sneered at for bringing two books here, and these rocks, as I have, you would call loudly for liberty. (Great gesticulation and heaps of nonsense.)

Gentleman—I demand a committee; then, you bedlamites shall be answered. (Excitement, and cries of 'Order, order,' 'Be quiet.')

The Chairman hoped that the last speaker would learn from his own religion how to love his neighbor, and not give way to passion and excitement. He trusted that order would prevail and full freedom of speech be allowed, but he hoped that personalities would be discontinued. His object was to seek for truth, and that could only be elicited by freedom of speech. Truth is indestructible; error alone can be destroyed. (Loud applause.) If rumselling is wrong, if slavery is wrong, if war is wrong, and if you believe in a God that sanctions such things, I do not. He is not my God. (Applause.) If the government can be overturned by reason and argument, let it be overturned. If the gentleman wishes to prove I am a monkey, or a tiger, let him do so. (Laughter.) I am content. If he will prove me a devil, very well. I am content to go to hell; for I want to go where I belong. (Laughter.)

* * * * *

Mrs. E. L. Rose then came forward, and was greeted with applause and hisses. Such were the confusion and uproar that it was impossible for our reporter to hear or understand many of the arguments of Mrs. Rose; but we give the following:—

Mrs. Rose. My friends, I am not well, but there was a time when I had a voice strong enough to speak against all opposition and be heard, but that time is past.'

A Voice. Good. 'Go it, mother.'

Mrs. Rose. My health has been bad for years, and my constitution is entirely broken up. (Laughter and hisses.)

A Strong Minded Lady, very much excited.—If you have the heart to speak, then speak on. (Laughter, applause, hisses, and cries of 'Bravo, old 'un.')

* This disorderly and shameless disturber was said to be one Dr. West, a notorious theological pugilist and a strolling adventurer from the old world.—Ed. Lib.

Mrs. Rose. I thank my sister for saying this to me, and I have a heart to speak and will speak on. (Cries of 'go ahead,' 'go ahead,' and hisses.)

Mrs. Rose. You can have no conception how I rejoice in this meeting, even hissing and all, as long as there is a meeting of this description and this company which I see before me. This time, twenty-five years ago, when I stood upon a platform to bear my testimony that the Bible was the greatest enemy that has ever been given to man, I experienced worse treatment than I do now.

Small boy, from the gallery. Where was that, old gal! (Loud laughter.)

The Chairman. Order, order. (Ironical cheers.)

Rev. Mr. Turner trusted that the audience would listen with patience to the remarks of Mrs. Rose. (Cries of 'go on, go on.')

A Voice from the gallery. May I make an inquiry?

The Chairman. Not now, for a collection is about being made. [A collection was then taken up amid great uproar.]

The same Voice. We can't go on without order. (Cries of 'good boy,' yells, and great hissing.)

The Chairman. Mrs. Rose, is at present speaking, and no other person is entitled to the floor.

A strong minded woman deprecatingly to the boys in the gallery: 'George Washington had more respect for a woman.' (Applause and hisses.)

The Chairman. I wish to ask the friends of the Bible, if this is the kind of argument and the specimen of advocacy by which they expect to sustain the Bible? (Hisses.)

At this juncture some enterprising citizen turned the gas off in the gallery, and for several minutes the hall was left in utter darkness; the audience whooping, stamping, hissing, and shrieking to the utmost extent of their lungs.

On lighting up, the Chair called for music, and Miss Murdoch, made an attempt but the name of the song we could not catch in consequence of the boys in the gallery each singing on his own hook, 'Yankee Doodle,' 'The Rogue's March,' 'Katie Darlint,' 'I Once Knew a Nigger,' and other popular effusions.

Mrs. Rose. Nicholas of Russia holds the iron rod that is called a sceptre, by which he has prostrated my own native land and poor dejected Hungary, for he says that he has received that power from God. (Hisses.)

Mrs. Rose. Do you hiss me, or the Bible, or the Emperor of Russia? (Confusion and groaning.)

The Chairman. 'Order, order.'

A Voice. Don't you wish you may get it? (Laughter.)

Mrs. Rose. My friends keep about as good order as they are capable of. (Ferocious groans.) But I have charity—but I have charity.

Independent Citizen, in the gallery, with his legs hanging over the railings. Don't, now, mother.

Mrs. Rose. I thought that, in this free country, freedom of speech and action were allowed. If that be so, can I not discuss the Bible? (Hisses and groans.)

Independent Citizen. I guess, mother, that I have as good a right to show my boots, as you have to discuss the Bible. (Laughter, and cries of good, bravo.)

Mrs. Rose. Luther first struck the blow for liberty, and do you hiss him? He pronounced the Bible of Rome a harlot which stifled the human mind. Hiss him to your hearts' content. (Hisses.)

A Voice. Good night. Time's up—forty minutes. Sit down, old lady. (Laughter and applause.)

Mrs. Rose. We should have charity and forbearance, yet as a whole the Bible has kept man ignorant and vicious. (Hisses and applause, and cries of 'Time's up,' 'Go on,' 'No, no,' 'Yes.') If you wish me to leave off sooner, you will have to keep quiet. (Hisses.) The Bible has created ignorance and intemperance. (Renewed hisses and great confusion, and cries of 'Time's up, Mother,' and laughter.) I am rather surprised to see in Yankeedom, who boast of their knowledge, that a woman cannot utter the sentiments of her heart without interruption.

A Voice. You ain't a woman. (Loud laughter, and cries of 'get down,' and whistling and barking.)

Mrs. Rose. I have stood more than that, but it does not ruffle my temper.

Cries of 'louder,' and hisses.

Mrs. Rose. Do you believe that the whale swallowed Jonah? (Hisses and confusion.) There is no need for me to prolong an argument as to the pernicious effect of the Bible. (Hisses.) My sisters, (pointing to the ladies with much excitement,) this is an evidence of the rights you have. The Church is upon your neck. Do you want to be free? (Cries of 'yes.') Then trample the church, the priest, and the Bible under your feet. (Hisses and shouts for at least five minutes.)

A motion to adjourn was seconded, and carried unanimously, and the unfortunate infidels left the hall amid the denunciations and curses of the excited multitude; and as the last of the philosophers descended the steps, a voice in parting benediction exclaimed, '*Exeunt omnes*, God damn 'em.'

* * * * *

Mrs. Rose now presented herself, and the storm which had been brewing burst like an avalanche upon her head. Groaning, hissing, stamping, barking, crowing, and every token of disapprobation were most liberally lavished upon her, but she bore it bravely. I do not intend, said she, to take up any argument. (Hisses, and cries of 'down, down.') Who makes disturbances? Those upon our side? (Renewed uproar.)

The Chairman (to the audience.) An opportunity is now afforded you to redeem your characters. This is the most infamous proceeding I ever witnessed. (Ferocious yells.)

Mrs. Rose. I merely want to justify myself. (Hisses, and cries of 'Go home.') I am not here to apologize for anything that I have said, for I believe sincerely and truly that I have spoken the honest truth and the honest conviction of my own heart, (hisses,) and I could not perform my duty to truth, and could not be just to myself, in doing less than this. (Yells.) My friends, in wishing you farewell, I shall not carry with me any unpleasant remembrances—not in the least, for my creed tells me to have perfect charity for the opinions and feelings of others. (Hisses.)

Mr. Barker, of Ohio, then attempted to address the meeting, but was compelled to give way from the bursts of indignation that were poured upon him from the gallery.

The attention of the spectators was here diverted for a moment by a fight in the gallery, which, so far as we can learn, originated from some young gentleman drawing and threatening to use a dirk. After a considerable amount of scuffling, he was removed.

Loud cries of 'Adjourn, adjourn.'

Mr. W. L. Garrison. I move that this convention adjourn *sine die*.

The motion was seconded and carried; and thus ended the Atheist Convention of 1853.

A large number of persons were congregated on the steps and around the building, and many were the affectionate inquiries for Mr. Garrison, but that worthy individual was fortunately for himself not recognized.

The Convention, we understand, will meet in some town in New England, on Jan. 1, 1854.

From the Hartford Courant.

ANTI-BIBLE CONVENTION.

This Infidel assemblage broke up on Sunday evening in a general row, without passing any of the resolutions which had been presented. Its object has been manifest from the beginning. It was concocted by Infidelity as an attack upon the Bible, with no intention of allowing fair and free discussion or deliberate investigation. It was an assembly of Abolitionists, Women's Rights believers, Spiritual Rappers and Atheists, gathered for the purpose of spitting out their venom against all that this community hold sacred—against the Bible, which is the foundation of our belief—against Christ, the Savior from sin—against God, the Creator of our being. Each fanatic took his own view of the subject, and assailed the Bible from his own stand-point. The infidel repeated the stale and worn-out puerilities of Voltaire and Tom Paine, and called them arguments. The followers of that arrant deceiver, Andrew Jackson Davis, elevated the crude and undigested plagiarisms of his obscure philosophy above the teachings of Christ and his apostles, and held them as the Gospel of the Spiritualists. The ultra Anti-Slavery men, with Garrison at their head, denied the Bible for other reasons. With them, the abolition of slavery in this country is of more importance than the light of Christianity or the salvation of souls through Jesus Christ. Rather than not accomplish their object, they would tear down the fabric that religion and morality have erected in New England—they would abolish the hopes of an hereafter, blot out the light which Christ has shed over the world, and extinguish the joys and comforts which piety creates. The advocates of Woman's Rights would drive the Bible from its place in civilized society, because it does not allow women's equality with man in all things, but marks out for her a different sphere of action.

Throughout the discussion, the opponents of the Bible filled the ears of the audience with the most revolting blasphemies, and made the Convention a miniature Hell, with Demons spitting out the concentrated malice of their hearts, in terms of 'condensed damnation.' The most revolting scene was when a specimen of the 'fair sex' pronounced her tirades against the Deity and the Scriptures—said to be the most blasphemous stuff uttered in the Convention. Nothing but Christianity has rescued woman from the degradation to which the tyranny of brute force had subjected her, in all savage nations—nothing but Christianity has bestowed upon her all that ennobles and purifies her character, and softens and dignifies her condition. Shame then to the woman, who will so far unsex herself as to be engaged, amid an assembly of male Infidels and scoffers, in attacking that institution which has rescued her from bondage. This woman, forsooth, spurns the Bible, because it declares at its commencement that God created woman as the companion of man! She refuses the Christianity of the New Testament, because women were not allowed to speak in the churches! She boldly impugns the Almighty for the station in which he has placed her, and belches out her blasphemies against Him for her physical inferiority, and for His declaration in His holy Word that He had given woman to man as his 'help-meet'—to support his infancy—to educate his young and tender mind—to build up the rising generations in the softening influences of early piety—to wean man, as a sister, from vice,—to soothe him in that dearest of all relations as a wife, amid the toils and cares and labors of the rough life through which he travels. Yes: from the cradle to the grave, woman is the 'companion' of man, the solace of his life hours, the supporter of his dying moments. God so ordered—the Bible so proclaims—nature so ordains—and shame to that woman who loudly asserts in a public assembly that such a God is unfit for her worship and is not hers. Shame to the piebald assemblage of Atheists and Abolitionists and misguided fanatics that would encourage the declaration.

Though we disliked the idea of any interference with the progress of their blasphemy, yet we must do justice to the two Second Advent preachers, Messrs. Storrs of New York and Turner of this place, who manfully battled for the truth and authority of the Bible. Their arguments were unanswered and unanswerable.

Honest, well-meaning men—men, who have hitherto been deluded by this spirit-rapping mania, with all its absurdity and folly,—can now see whither it tends. It leads to the destruction of Christianity, to the rejection of the Bible, to the blotting out of God from the Soul. Are they ready to go to these lengths? Just assuredly as they embrace 'the Gospel according to Andrew Jackson Davis,' will they be led to the rejection of Jesus Christ and him crucified, and to the abolition of God from their creeds. Are they prepared for it?

As long as this Spiritual Rapping was the mere child of fatuity and imposture, we chose to let it alone. But it has now assumed a position in which the lover of all that is holy and upright and just in the Universe must meet it with tones of indignation and notes of warning. We have no hesitation in saying, as viewed in the light of this Convention, that a belief in Spiritual visitations, as at present exhibited, will lead directly and fatally to the grossest Infidelity and Atheism.

The Chairman announced, at the adjournment of the meeting, that it would be called together again at some other city of New England. We trust that the soil of Connecticut will never be desecrated again, and her laws set at defiance, by such an assemblage, or the air of Connecticut polluted again by such blasphemy.

From the Boston Bee.

THE LATE INFIDEL CONVENTION.

The recent Infidel Convention, at Hartford, Ct., was a rare gathering—alike for the lunatics of which it was composed, and the lunatic proceedings which made up its records. A crazier set of men, or a wilder bevy of women, probably never set beneath one roof, outside a madhouse. The gathering was modestly disguised as 'The Anti-Bible Convention,' but its *real* design and character was to make infidel speeches, condemn all that sane and good men and women regard as sacred, to unloose, if possible, that affection for the good book which has been the strength, the consolation and the hope of all Christians, and a greater part of the world, for eighteen centuries. These men and women, with black blasphemy on their polluted lips, and red venom at their rankling hearts, from day to day launched out their terrible attacks on the Bible, the Christian, the Church. The scene was melancholy indeed, and fully convinces the thinking portion of the community that the madhouse will soon have many new victims to delusions, the incurability of which is only equalled by the accursed abomination which has caused them.

There was Garrison, the bold leader of infidels, the prince of blasphemers, the defier of God, sitting at the head of the Convention, like Satan in the regions of iniquity. Heaven, in its mercy, permitted the breath of life to inflate his lungs, to the good end, we doubt not, that the world might see a moral monster whose fiendishness is more than fiends. There, too, was Parker Pillsbury, whose name is a tower of infamy that should reach to the very floor of heaven itself. He belched out his fearful impiousness, from a brain and heart that is, and was long ago, steeped in the pestilent and black waters of infidelity. There, also, was Henry C. Wright, from whose lips falls nothing which is not a sneer at God, a scoff at heaven. He railed like a maniac, and stormed like a fiend. The Bible was denounced; heaven was scouted; the church beslimed; all that is good and great was ignominiously villified. There, too, in high estate, was Andrew Jackson Davis, the audacious and scoffing blasphemer of the Supreme Being. There, too, and worse and more melancholy than all, was Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, of New York, her heart saturated with the fiery liquid of infidelity, and her tongue uttering sentiments too shockingly wicked to repeat. If ever there was a scene more calculated than another to make sad the heart, to sicken and depress the mind, it was that woman, then and there, surrounded by moral fiends, uttering strain after strain of blasphemy, the parallel of which would have turned a Paine or Kneeland as pale and fixed as marble.

We have no desire to enumerate all the speakers in this diabolical Convention. The above are samples of some dozen men and women, who did little but insult God, abuse the Bible, and scandalize Christians. The Convention, as might have been expected, broke up in confusion bordering on a row. Nothing was *done*, not even a poor, paltry infidel resolution was passed. The blaspheming infidels, lost to reason, lost to sense, lost to judgment, lost to everything sane, actually crumbled into pieces, as though the breath of God passed over and distracted them. They left that hall benighted and dark, as well in head as soul. So passed out Garrison, black in heart; and so Pillsbury, blacker in soul; and so Wright, foul and infamous; and so Mrs. Rose, gleaming with the hot and consuming fires of the infidel; and so all others, knowing not where their feet led.

We venture the prophecy that, in less than one year, fifty per cent. of the men and women who composed that Convention, will be confirmed maniacs, in some of our insane asylums.

From the Hartford Daily Times.

THE BIBLE CONVENTION.

The New York *Times* connects this city in rather a sneering and disparaging manner with the (so-called) Bible Convention. It alludes to it as 'the second Hartford Convention,' holding it to be a disreputable body, and insinuating that because this city was selected as the place of meeting for the first Hartford Convention, there was a peculiar fitness in making it the head-quarters of the second. This is a very unfair and erroneous view of the matter. We presume that Hartford was selected in preference to other localities, as the place for holding this extraordinary conclave, for reasons which would generally be regarded as complimentary, rather than disgraceful. This city was chosen for that purpose, in all probability, because the originators of the Convention looked upon it as the central point of the best educated and most intelligent State, and perhaps, also, on the whole, as the most moral, religious and Bible-respecting State in the Union. They understood shrewdly enough, that a blow struck at the Bible and Religion *here*, would tell far more effectually than the same blow struck in the purlieus of Boston or New York. In neither of these cities could a Convention of this kind make any mark. It not only would have passed away without much notice, but without even those equivocal honors of opposition and hisses which appear to have been not only openly courted, but generously accorded, here. Next to profound silence and hearty applause, a vigorous hissing and a well-sustained series of rows are considered by many speakers as the highest mark of appreciation which it is in the power of an audience to bestow. Garrison is one of this kind. He is one of those men who love opposition and minorities for their own sake. Agreement with any large fragment of mankind is utterly uncongenial to him, and he looks upon intellectual concord of all kinds as a forbidden and enervating luxury. Without his habitual aliment of hisses, diversified with an occasional mobbing and kicking, his faculties would speedily languish for want of the customary stimulus. If he had a motto, it would be, 'kick me, but notice me,' or 'true courage without opposition dies'—the converse of the poet's. It was this luxury of hissing and tumult which Garrison and his colleagues found here, in full measure, but which they could not so easily find in New York or Boston. Moreover, whether the Bible Convention was a good thing or not, this city is in no way responsible for its good or its evil, any more than it would be for the doings of a convention of archangels or arch-fiends, of Titans or pigmies, unexpectedly landed upon this spot, so long as they demeaned themselves decorously and peacefully, paid their tavern-bills and room-hire, and abstained from any positive breach of the law.

RADICAL REFORMERS.

'Of so frightful mien,
As to be hated, need but to be seen.'

Among the most dangerous reformers we must class those who are endeavoring to put the Bible into disrepute, and place doubt upon that revelation which opens to man his hopes in a future existence.

A Convention of infidels and fanatics, under the guidance of such persons as Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelly Foster, and the like, is now or has the past week been in session in Hartford, Conn. They deny the authenticity of the Bible and the Christian religion, condemning their teachings as 'mythological,' and the 'offspring of superstition.'

We copy the following from a report of the proceedings in Connecticut. If the principles of such persons should be generally adopted—if the visionary schemes they offer should be carried out—better would it be for our country never to have enjoyed anything but the heathenism of India, rather than now to retire from the light which has been the glory of Christendom.

That our readers may not think we are exaggerating the horrid impiety of some of the miserable and misguided men who spoke and acted on the occasion, we must beg leave to quote *verbatim* from a report in a city paper.—*Portsmouth Journal.*

The Late Anti-Bible Convention.—A Hartford correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says of this Convention:—

As an effort against the Bible, it was contemptible. As far as we heard, there was not an argument of any force adduced that was not stale with age, and that has not been answered again and again. There was a fishing up from the stagnation and putrefaction of Paine's old arguments, and they were brought out all seething with his foam. As a matter of honesty, however, it would have been more creditable to have recognized the paternity of the ideas. Hours were spent on assertions that a tyro in Theology and Theologic History could have answered, and the speakers must have calculated on a pretty wide margin of auditorial ignorance. Judging from appearances, as far as their own followers were concerned, they did not reckon without their host.

On the whole, we do not feel disposed to regret this Convention. The Bible will survive it. It has survived shocks compared with which this is a mosquito bite. More than fifty years ago, Paine closed his examination of the Bible, thus: 'I have gone through the Bible as a man would go through a wood with an axe on his shoulder and fell trees. Here they lie, and the priests, if they can, may replant them. They may, perhaps, stick them in the ground, but *they will never make them grow*.'

Paine has gone—but the Bible stands. And Paine saw the hour, when he would have given his soul for a stand upon that Bible. We commend the lesson for the reflection of others.

☞ The abolitionists, free soilers, spiritualists, and strong minded women, of this region, have at length got into a very fair way of exhibiting themselves in their true light, as the enemies of Christianity, morality, and of every thing holiest and best in our institutions. They have met in Convention, to the number of a few hundred, in the city of Hartford, for the purpose, as set forth in the call, of freely and fully discussing the origin, authority and influence of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. This call was signed by some hundred and seventy persons, of both sexes—a suggestive fact of the spread of infidelity, if not of insanity, in this latitude. That the public may be fully informed of the drift, design and tendency of this holy Convention, and of the sentiments of those taking part in it, we have detailed a special reporter from our office to attend it, and we this morning give our readers the details of the first day's proceedings. The abolitionist infidels have now taken rope enough, and the suicidal result is inevitable.—*New York Herald.*

Infidel Convention.—A Convention has been held at Hartford, Conn., during the last week, called professedly for the discussion of the claims of the Bible to belief, but in reality to give a few infidels an opportunity to deliver themselves publicly of a surplus amount of their hatred to the word of God. The leading spirits of the Convention seem to have been Andrew Jackson Davis, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Mrs. Rose, all sufficiently notorious for their infidelity as well as their other vagaries. From the proceedings we should judge that, notwithstanding the number of patients which the Spirit-rappers have furnished for the lunatic asylums, there are still many lunatics at large. The Convention is reported as breaking up in a row, without adopting the resolutions, introduced by Garrison, denunciatory of the Bible, and leaving it still in doubt whether that book may still be received as of divine authority. What a pity! But they are to have another Convention in 1854, and perhaps it may be settled then.—*N. Y. Observer.*

Anti-Bible Convention.—A Convention composed of the leading spirits of abolitionism, with an infusion of crazy philanthropists generally, was in session in Hartford, Ct., last week, for the purpose of exposing the fallacy of the Bible as a work of Divine inspiration. William Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, Henry C. Wright and other piebald visionaries were the leading spirits of the demonstration.

The whole proceedings of the Convention, as we can judge of them by the brief reports published, might not astonish the experienced superintendent of a mad-house, and to such superintendency we respectfully commend the principal orators on the occasion.—*Boston Daily Mail.*

Anti-Bible Convention.—We have not noticed the ambitious little gathering of infidels which took place last week at Hartford, on the call of Andrew Jackson Davis and others, to adjudicate and decide upon the authenticity and inspiration of the Scriptures. We trust our silence will not be taken to indicate any want of interest in these solemn and far-reaching questions. Perhaps we are not fully alive to the gravity of the occasion; but we did not fully get the impression that the great question of Bible or no Bible was then and there to receive its final settlement; and there seemed to be nothing in the antecedents of the principal characters concerned in getting up the Convention that called for any other emotion, at the hands of Christian men, than pity. Silence was the most fitting and considerate treatment they could receive, however much it may be disrelished. Their published proceedings, resolves and insane speeches are fitted to excite that unqualified commiseration which silence best interprets. They are their own worst enemies. It will sufficiently indicate the type of these proceedings to copy a few of the resolutions propounded by Mr. Garrison, and discussed at length by the Convention—whether adopted or not we have not been able to ascertain.—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

Anti-Bible Convention.—Ar. Anti-Bible Convention, says the *Traveller*, has been in session for some three days, at Hartford, Ct. Andrew Jackson Davis, (the Great Harmonian,) Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Mr. Theodore Parker, are the only names mentioned by the Hartford papers in connection with this Convention. The Bible, it is said, has been attacked by the Convention, chiefly on the ground that it is not harmonious in itself—that it supports slavery, polygamy and other sins.

These reformers have got rid of the Church and the State, the Sabbath and the peculiar ordinances of religion, and there is nothing now left for them to fight and throw away but the Bible. Their efforts, however, will prove like those of their predecessors—Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, Paine and his followers. That 'Word' which has survived the perils of thousands of years, and the repeated, able and artful attacks of learned, bitter enemies in all ages of the world, will not be likely to fall now before such arms as modern Infidelity and Pantheism can muster!—*Zion's Advocate.*

Anti-Bible Convention.—This gathering of brain-cracked odds and ends of both sexes, from one portion of the country and another, commenced its session in Hartford, Ct., on Thursday last. The high priest of this movement is that sublimated essence of humbug, Andrew Jackson Davis, assisted by Henry C. Wright, William Lloyd Garrison, and other professional agitators of the day. The Convention was to continue four days, at the end of which a vote will be taken, and all doubts about the Scriptures will be solved, and every body will know just what to believe. We copy a portion of the *N. Y. Tribune's* account of the first day's doings:

'The Convention was held in an old Church with the pulpit knocked away, intended to be symbolical, we presume, of the fate that awaits the Bible. An old, huge-paw of a fellow, in one of the back pews, at the opening of the Convention, suggested doubts, however, about this result, as he said he thought the Spiritualists would now find their match, as they had got into a tussle with the Almighty. The Assembly was not numerous. There were not so many present as would ordinarily be found at a morning Methodist Class-meeting in a country village. The concourse was, however, motley,—there being a sprinkling of blacks, persons with unshorn beards, women of a very queries-of-a-dollarish air; and men of longing and enthusiastic aspects.'—*Gospel (Universalist) Banner.*

The Anti-Bible Convention.—The New York *Times* says of the Hartford Bible Convention which exploded on Sunday night:—

'As if by Providential arrangements, its members were drafted from a class of persons who have long since lost all standing in the community for soundness of wit; and exposed themselves to shrewd suspicions of pursuing dishonest aims from bad motives. It is a mere sink of skepticism fed from the impurest sources. Abolitionism has poured in its little tide; a streamlet of magnetism was duly contributed; clairvoyance trickled in unobtrusively; and the rapperces turned thither the Stygian waters, agreeably to an alphabetical agreement with Charon and the ghosts of Hades. Disbelief of the Bible leaves a vast vacuum in the human mind, which all manner of demons and chimeras troop in to occupy. So these people meet upon a common platform of delusion, after meritorious struggles in the cause of general religious and social disorganization.'

☞ The Anti-Bible Convention in Hartford turned out a miserable failure. Andrew Jackson Davis, W. L. Garrison, and many other spiritual rappers and come-outers, were there, but they talked to empty benches, almost.—*Worcester Spy.*

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June 6 4m

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January 14. 3m

THE BIBLE AS A BOOK.

AS it is at the Present Day; its Inspiration, Logic, &c. Alfred W. Hoar, Medium. Price, 20 cents. Just published by BELA MARSH, No. 25 Cornhill.

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A NEW ANTI-SLAVERY WORK FROM THE SPIRIT WORLD; being twelve Discourses on Government, by Thomas Jefferson, through John M. Spear, Spirit Medium, with a preface, by Adin Ballou. For sale by BELA MARSH, No. 25 Cornhill, Boston. Price, single, 12½ cents; or ten copies for $1.00.

May 6—3m.

PUBLIC FUNCTION OF WOMAN.

JUST published, and for sale by ROBERT F. WALLCUT, 21 Cornhill, 'A Sermon of the Public Functions of Woman, preached at the Music Hall, March 27, 1853. By Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society. Phonographically reported by J. M. W. Yerrington and Rufus Peighton.' Price 6 cents single—50 cents per dozen.

JUST PUBLISHED,

And for Sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill,

THE Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq., delivered at the last annual meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, in vindication of the Anti-